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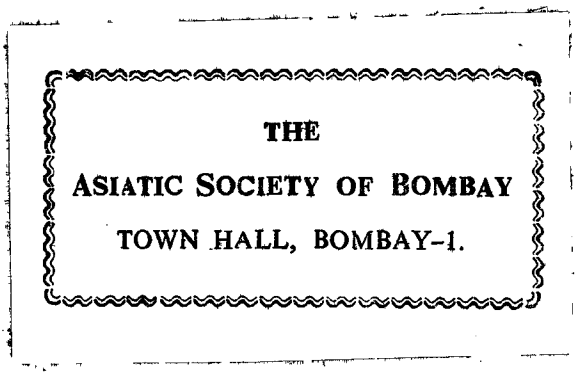

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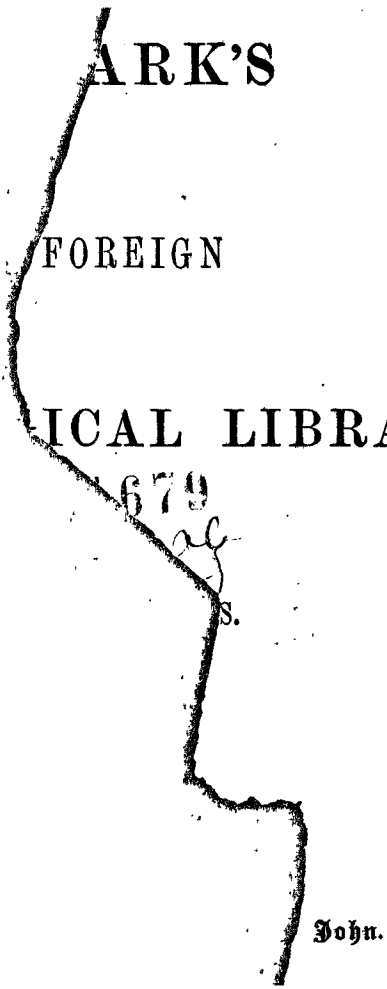

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TO

TES C. WELLING, LL.D.,

COLUMBIAN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, U.S.A.,

WHO

MPTED AND URGED THIS TRANSLATION,

IT IS GRATEFULLY

DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

ree years have passed since this book
I did not think I should have
forth anew. It seemed to me to have
o be ready to yield the ground to other
have yielded to the urgent desire of the

such a youthful work again with a peculiar
e sees how thoroughly he has changed even in
presentation. Yet he goes back to the begin-
o an old home.
as originally intended at base merely as a
of John's gospel, of which the exposition
part as the proof of the carrying out of
hich the gospel rested. Now, the exposi-
a more independent importance. Hence
work into the two halves of characteriza-
on, and given the larger compass to the
book has become more of a commentary
time it was issued.
ith this new edition, the critical question
main unnoticed. Yet here it has seemed
d to limit myself to a summary of my
Author of the Fourth Gospel [Edinburgh,
], which has appeared in the meantime.
er discussion of this question.
t to become a new work, but be a new
whole plan of the first treatment must

of necessity still form the basis. But e
will show how far the book has been
that was partial has been made more mod
have been rectified. The fundamental vi
the same, and has only confirmed itself to

In its first form the book won ma
doubtless not remained utterly witho
its new form, still meet with a kind
of its old friends, so far as they are
who make its acquaintance as new, m
come aid to understanding more complet
chief gospel' of Jesus Christ, and to bel
therein the revelation of His glory.

I must apologise for the numerous mispri
the beginning. The readers owe the greater
the printing, from the nineteenth sheet onward
of Mr. Gregory, from America, who has undert
conscientious revision of the sheets.

DR

LEIPZIG.

[1] This, of course, refers only to the o

OF COMMENTARIES

UPON

SPEL OF ST. JOHN.

---

emed necessary to include in the following list more
he works of those who have published commentaries
l. For full details upon the literature of the contro-
authenticity and genuineness, the reader is referred,
yer's own Introduction, vol. i., to the very copious
by Mr. Gregory to his translation of Luthardt's work
of the Gospel, recently published by the Messrs. Clark.]

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I

THE INTEGRITY.

NO book in the New Testament gives the reader an immediate impression of unity more strongly than the fourth gospel. The same narrowly limited speech, and the same decidedly peculiar method of thought and expression, run through the book from beginning to end, almost without exception. Hence, when in these late days for the first time, the integrity of our gospel has become an object of doubt and attack, the idea at once arises, that the blame for this is not to be laid to anything singular in the book itself. Other considerations must have occasioned these attempts. The attacks at the outset followed Bretschneider's *Probabilia* of 1820. He gathered and sharpened all the doubts that had been raised before that time against the genuineness of the fourth gospel, and thus made an energetic, though he called it a 'modest,' attempt to destroy the belief in its Johannean origin. After the storm excited by Bretschneider was over, matters took a new turn. Strauss led. The school of Baur developed the assault to the utmost keenness, and the result is that the Johannean question has become the cardinal inquiry, not merely of all New Testament criticism, but even of Christology.

Paulus.

Paulus made an attempt to distinguish the apostle John, the one who transmits or witnesses to the history and the most weighty words recorded in the gospel, from the writer of the book, a follower of John. He sets this idea forth at its best in the review[1] of Bretschneider's *Probabilia*. It followed

[1] *Heidelberger Jahrbücher der Literatur* (xiv. Jahrg. Neue Folge i. Jahrg.), 1821, pp. 112–142.

so closely upon their publication, that it looked as if it had been called forth by them. He clearly betrays the fact that Bretschneider had compelled him to make this distinction.[1] He thinks that the second writer reveals himself in the appendix. He cuts οἴδαμεν into οἶδα μέν, puts a period after περὶ τούτων, and so makes the one 'that wrote these things' (ὁ γράψας ταῦτα, the article with ℵ, B, D) separate himself from the one 'which testifieth' (ὁ μαρτυρῶν). What a strange contrast then comes out between οἶδα μέν and ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα, etc.; and how clumsy the statement is: καὶ ὁ γράψας ταῦτα καὶ οἶδα μέν, 'And he who wrote this; I myself know certainly that it is true, moreover, that there was much else to be written,' etc. This is the very translation that Paulus himself gives,[2] —a translation that in itself makes a particular refutation altogether unnecessary. The follower of John must have been himself a witness of the 'glory' (δόξα) of Jesus according to i. 14, though we do not need to think of him as one of the seventy disciples.[3] He must then soon after the apostle's death have wrought St. John's narratives into a doctrinal book for those who were neither Jews nor Christians.[4] In this book he blended the Palestine belief in the Messiah with the Philo-Alexandrian idea of the Logos, and presented these as synonymous,[5] at the same time thus specifying the limits of Gnosis. Of course a great deal of the historical material used belonged originally to John, so that we may always call it the gospel 'according to John' (κατὰ Ἰωάννην), though not 'John's' (Ἰωάννου). Yet, along with this Johannean material, much slips in that was made up at will, just to serve the aim of the writer,—as, for example, the longer discourses, incorrect explanations of the words of Jesus, and improper mingling of circumstances.[6] Now, however, in the first place, it is in some degree doubtful whether one of about the same age as the apostle could have written this gospel after the death of the latter, seeing that the apostle lived to a good age. And, in the second place, this man, according to i. 14, had no mere outward knowledge of Jesus, but had, in long converse with

[1] *Heidelberger Jahrbücher der Literatur* (xiv. Jahrg. Neue Folge i. Jahrg.) 1821, p. 140.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 139. [3] *Ibid.* p. 140. [4] *Ibid.* pp. 141, 142.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 135. [6] *Ibid.* p. 137.

Him, received into himself His nature and His appearance. All this is presupposed in 'we beheld His glory,' *ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ*. That does not mean merely a sight of single wonderful deeds. How could such a one be so dependent upon separate historical notes of the apostle's, as would be the case according to Paulus? Besides, there is another thing somewhat difficult to understand. They tell us that the chief aim of this doctrinal book is the presentation of the Gnostic idea of the Logos,—a presentation which is the right one, because it is reconciled with the Palestine belief in the Messiah, and proves itself thereby anti-gnostic. And, on the other hand, in spite of this, according to Paulus, the evangelist is to be praised for not bringing his idea of a Logos into the discourses of Jesus, but for having only selected from them what appeared to draw near to that idea.[1] We shall the rather be excused from going into details, because this view is at bottom not an attack upon the integrity, but upon the authenticity of the gospel. It has taken the same form in its renewal by Hilgenfeld,[2] in that he, relying especially on xix. 35, holds that the author is a different person from the apostle John. Moreover, the want of clear decision, the peculiar wavering between eye-witness and later composition, originality and dependence, and apostolicity and the scholar's work, which distinguishes this view of Paulus' from Hilgenfeld's, makes the former untenable.

Attempts were then made to find a hand working over and interpolating in our gospel. Schweizer,[3] the last to attack its unity, refuted these so amply, that we may refrain from a detailed answer to them.[4] We shall only touch briefly what is most essential.

Weisse.

Weisse cannot see how to make the Christ of the synoptists

[1] *Heidelberger Jahrbücher der Literatur* (xiv. Jahrg. Neue Folge i. Jahrg.), 1821, pp. 117, 118.

[2] *Die Evangelien nach ihrer Entstehung und geschichtlichen Bedeutung*, Leipzig 1854, p. 340 f.

[3] Schweizer, *Das Evangelium Johannes nach seinem innern Werthe und seiner Bedeutung für das Leben Jesu kritisch untersucht*, von Dr. Alexander Schweizer, Professor der Theologie in Zürich. Leipzig 1841.

[4] Compare Lücke against Weisse. Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. pp. 141–150.

agree with the one in John, as the latter is rather an 'idea of Christ' than an 'image of Christ,' and speaks 'not directly from his person, but about his person.'[1] But the spirit of the history which breathes upon us from our gospel is too mighty to give a mere idea. From the phrase, 'the Word was made flesh,' onwards, Christ meets us constantly in the plainest, concrete actuality, not simply of the external, but as well of the internal soul life. And the relation of men to Himself, which He demands, is not alone an intellectual, but also a moral and personal relation of a person to a person. We are not to believe in an idea, but in the One who was made flesh, on the concrete, historical, bodily personality. In the next place, moreover, Weisse does not appear to have borne in mind that on the one hand the Christ of the synoptists speaks 'concerning his person;' compare, for example, Matt. xxvi. 64, xxvii. 11, ix. 6, xvi. 16 f., and xxii. 41–45; and, on the other hand, that the Christ of John speaks directly 'forth from Himself' when He says, for example xii. 27, 'Now is my soul troubled,' or x. 17, 'Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I might take it again.' When Weisse had once made the above-mentioned discovery, as he tells us, he set to work at the fourth gospel to see if he could not find signs that it was of less historical and literary value. Here is what he found: John, a thoroughly unhistorical soul, 'when his Master's form threatened to vanish in an airy vision, strove to hold fast to His image, to gather again His already dissolving lineaments, and, by the help of an original or a borrowed theory, to pour out the being and the signification of his Master into a new mould.'[2] For this purpose John made records of the discourses of Jesus rather as historical matters, like studies, in which he laid at the foundation his own theology, only clothed in the garments of the discourses of Jesus. Next, xix. 35, 'and he that saw it bare record,' etc., makes it quite clear that after the apostle's death one of John's scholars came to revise the book. And this scholar, often in a forced and generally in a most awkward way, combined the historical materials of other men with John's records, thus giving

[1] *Die evangelische Geschichte kritisch und philosophisch bearbeitet*, Leipzig, 1838, p. 115.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 110.

an odd patchwork of gospel history. But Weisse did not consider that, as for the perfect in xix. 35, the evangelist has directly before this given his own testimony. Again, when Weisse draws certain conclusions from the difference of the language of the twenty-first from that of the other chapters, he acknowledges that the other chapters agree in language. Thus Weisse confesses that this awkward reviser understood how to write like John. Then, too, he must have known how to think like John, and this betrays no awkward scholar; and finally, although he found no plan or coherence in the gospel, and so decided that it was a patched up affair, it does not follow that the book actually has no plan and coherence.[1]

Schenkel.

Schenkel sought to transfer to John what is for the most part agreed as to Matthew on the ground of the 'Sayings' (λόγια) of Papias.[2] In a review of Weisse's *Gospel History*,[3] he asserted that the discourses form the foundation throughout, and that originally they had made up a complete whole. Thus he thought that iii. 27 had followed upon iii. 21, and iv. 34 upon iii. 36, etc., and had only been torn apart by one who interpolated bits of history. In this, however, he only neglects to show what the original must have looked like, and how it possibly could have existed, and besides, how an interpolator and interpolation are at all conceivable in the case of such discourses as we have in the fourth gospel. What he adduces about the connection of the separate discourses[4] is too meagre. And what he says about the impropriety of the position of certain passages and of the bits of history inserted is too cursory. Moreover, as he himself after all wishes to give this view merely as a conjecture,[5] it certainly has no claim for a fuller discussion. Indeed, it is a standpoint that he himself has left behind.

[1] Compare further against Weisse: Frommann, 'Ueber die Echtheit und Integrität des Evangel. Johannis, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Weisse's evangelische Geschichte,' *Studien und Kritiken*, 1840, pp. 853–930.

[2] Compare Schleiermacher, 'Ueber die Zeugnisse des Papias von unsern beiden ersten Evangelien,' *Studien und Kritiken*, 1832, pp. 735–768.

[3] *Studien und Kritiken*, 1840, pp. 736–808, especially p. 753 ff.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 766 ff.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 770.

Schweizer.

The same may be said of the more acute attempt of Schweizer. He seeks his right for such treatment of a New Testament book in the free position of Jesus towards the Old Testament. This he supposes he is permitted to draw exegetically from the word 'think' (δοκεῖν), John v. 39. This exegesis is questionable. Jesus, by what follows, does not gainsay the opinion of the Jews on the point touched, but only defines it more nearly. And in any case, the conclusion that Schweizer draws from Jesus as to Himself and his own criticism is very problematical. His criticism takes the twenty-first chapter as its starting-point. This clearly turns out to be added by a later hand,—a hand, moreover, that discovers itself in single interpolations in the main part of the book. Schweizer goes upon the supposition that this unknown person sets a much greater value on things outward and sensible, and therefore has a much more external idea of miracles than John himself,—indeed, an altogether different idea from John's. We shall treat of this appendix chapter later in its place. As to what concerns the gospel itself, I fear that what Schweizer deems unworthy of his John, namely, that not exactly external but certainly symbolical style, runs through the whole book. The problem therefore is, not to condemn it outright, but to understand it. Thus he stumbles in the same manner at xix. 35–37. These are the very words that the criticism of Baur's school takes to be characteristically Johannean, and the key to the understanding of the whole book. This will be enough to satisfy us for the present that these words of the evangelist are not so utterly worthless, and then we shall see, in the proper place, whether they have not a sense that agrees with the rest. However, the interpolator's external way of thinking is said to show itself in xviii. 9; what Jesus intended and spoke in xvii. 12 in a spiritual sense, is here seen to be fulfilled in physical preservation. But chap. xvii. teaches us directly that up to this time He has kept His disciples while He was with them; now the Father must keep them 'from the evil,' ver. 15. They still need a great deal of care, for they are not nearly perfected yet; compare xvi. 32. If, then, a mere question was the means of even Peter's fall, as is

related directly after our passage, how much greater was the danger that, to the disciples as we still find them at that time, imprisonment and the like would serve as a temptation to apostasy! Thus the external protection was a protection of the soul.[1]

Again, xvi. 30 is a stumbling-block for Schweizer. It should not be. The evangelist, before this, makes prominent the fact that Jesus knows the thoughts of the heart; and he shows how this serves as a motive for belief on Him; compare i. 49, 50, iv. 18, 19, 29. There is nothing like a stumbling-block in the words of the disciples on this side. There is just as little on the other side,—namely, that they were mistaken when they thought that, because Jesus spoke clearly, they had now also thoroughly understood Him and possessed the full belief, which included maturity both of knowledge and of personal relation to the Lord. For the evangelist, by putting in various expressions of the disciples scattered throughout the last discourses, does not cease repeatedly to make it clear to us how incomplete both that knowledge and that personal relation still were. Jesus also brings this out in what immediately follows, and on account of it draws back in feeling from His disciples to His Father. Schweizer declares that ii. 21, 22 is an interpolation, because the interpretation given here of the words of Jesus does not seem to him to be right. He does not understand that with the body of Jesus, which was called into life, that temple of His body became alive which he put in the place of the old temple. The old temple was broken when His body was broken.

Besides these little passages, Schweizer has raised the reproach of spuriousness against four larger parts. They are the four Galilean miracles,—namely, ii. 1–11, the miracle at Cana; iv. 44–54, the healing of the Capernaum ruler's son; vi. 1–15, the feeding; and vi. 16–25, the return upon the sea. The conception of miracles that rules in these is different from, and far more sensuous than, that peculiar to John; and besides, these are nothing but Galilean patches. It does not appear, however, why John could not admit anything

[1] Compare Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1843, vol. ii. p. 701.

Galilean, although for the sake of the purpose of his gospel he especially chose things at Jerusalem. And after all, Galilean matters are suffered to remain at any rate i. 44, iv. 43, vi. 27–71, vii. 1–9. Observe also, that in the first two passages Galilee is mentioned in a way which shows pretty clearly that something Galilean ought to follow. Schweizer[1] gives, as a ground for these insertions, the design of bringing the fourth gospel more into conformity with the common evangelical tradition. But the interpolator would rather have marred than carried out this design. To attain this he would have had to adopt much more than he has that was synoptic, and in a more obviously harmonious way. Moreover, as is well known, he has certainly not put the agreement with the common tradition in a clearer light by his insertions.[2] Touching that first rule, it is not simply a decided 'begging the question,' but is also refuted by the book itself. A miracle is always apparent to the senses, and you cannot make a distinction as regards greater or less externality, whether Jesus heals a sick man or raises a dead man, whether he turns water into wine or gives a blind man sight. Those controverted miracles have their sense and importance, just as much as the ones that are spared; and Jesus revealed His glory at Cana no less than at the grave of Lazarus. There is very little to be made out of the reproach of magic. What conceivable points are especially to be embraced in this word? Incomprehensibility? That must hold for every miracle. The being done without means? In every miracle Jesus uses only His word or the power of His will as the means. Arbitrariness? Every miracle is that on one side, seeing that it rests at the bottom only on the will of the one working; and again, no miracle is that, seeing that each has a good sense in itself, and a significance in the whole connection. What is meant when the miracle at Cana is accused of having a magical character? Aside from this, it is a singular procedure to reject single parts for the sake of a conception of miracles that one is only in a position to attain by the exclusion of these very passages

The same circle occurs in the other argument which

[1] Schweizer, *Das Evangelium Johannes*, Leipzig 1841, p. 99.

[2] Compare Baur. *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 122.

Schweizer urges against the wedding miracle, namely, that no discourse follows it; for the same is the case at iv. 47 ff., vi. 1–15 and 16–21, and at the raising of Lazarus too. What internal ground could there be that necessarily demanded a following discourse, if the miracle, as a 'sign' (*σημεῖον*) which signifies something, is itself a preaching? But in ii. 4 *ἡ ὥρα μου* ('mine hour') is used in a meaning contrary to the Johannean custom of writing: here it stands for *ὁ καιρός μου* ('my time'), while the evangelist elsewhere always uses the word for the hour of the death of Jesus.[1] Each is an error. In the first place, *ἡ ὥρα μου* stands in no other sense than that in which the evangelist always uses it; and in the second place, it does not designate directly the hour of the death of Jesus. We shall have to speak of this further at another place.

At iv. 44–54 it cannot pretend to be a serious argument that ver. 44 has always been a hard place for interpreters. I hope it will turn out, at the exposition of the coherency of our gospel, that the difficulty is easily solved. Should we join v. 1 directly to iv. 43, what an odd historical narrative it would make. How can anybody know that the looking back to the first miracle at Cana (iv. 54) is not Johannean?[2] In that case, the looking forward to what follows (ii. 11) is also not Johannean; according to Schweizer, certainly not. But then vii. 21, 23 and x. 32, 40 are the same too. However, when Schweizer urges that the union of 'signs and wonders' (*σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα*) is not Johannean, because 'wonder' (*τέρας*) does not occur elsewhere in the evangelist, he overlooks the fact that it also occurs only once in Matthew and in Mark (Matt. xxiv. 24; Mark xiii. 22), and indeed in both places likewise in this union with 'signs' (*σημεῖα*), and, as we can readily see, for the same reason as here, namely, for the sake of the intended strengthening.

He declares, further, that vi. 27 must join directly on to v. 47.[3] By this, the transition of the thoughts, the sudden exhortation, 'Labour not for the meat,' etc., in brief, the whole, is inexplicable. But according to his notion, the demand of the Jews and the discourse of Jesus are still more unaccount-

[1] Schweizer, *Das Evangelium Johannes*, Leipzig 1841, p. 73.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 78. [3] *Ibid.* p. 87.

able if the miracle of feeding related in vi. 1–15 precedes. For how could they still want a sign for His authentication, vi. 30? The feeding, however, was not the only miracle that Jesus had wrought. They had already seen, or heard of, many others (iv. 45). Then Schweizer must strike out these too, so as to account for the demand of the Jews. But all that had preceded did not yet appear to them to establish the claim that Jesus made when He held Himself up as the object of belief, vi. 29. Moses was believed in as the leader of the people, by the fact that upon the march he prevented distress in a wonderful way. With how much higher a miracle, of His own person, Jesus proves that He is not only a leader like Moses, but is Himself the way and the life and the right object of belief! Thus the things supposed to be incompatible go together very well. But we are told that the narrative, vi. 1–15, certainly lacks the clearness peculiar to John: in ver. 3, Jesus goes up into the mountain and sits down there with His disciples; and in ver. 15 He again goes up into the mountain! Look at it. Jesus saw the people coming to Him (ver. 5), gave orders that the five thousand should sit down in a grassy place (ver. 10), broke the loaves and distributed them among them, and had the crumbs that were left gathered up, whereupon the people wanted to make Him a king. There is certainly a great presumption that the reader should suppose that Jesus in all this did not remain seated above on the mountain, but descended to the people. And I think that when it says, 'He departed *again* into a mountain' (*ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν εἰς τὸ ὄρος*, ver. 15), it tells clearly enough that He had previously descended. The connection of the first verse shows distinctly that Jesus wished to avoid the people. When, however, He saw that this was not gained, He resolved to come forth with a sign, as we have already seen was His custom (iv. 4 ff., 43 ff.). And then He again withdrew from them. But Schweizer says that there is a contradiction between vers. 2 and 4. At one time the people follow Jesus, at the other they are on the journey to the passover. To this we reply, that the second thing is not stated, and that if it were, it would not contradict the first.

The passage, vi. 16–26, has still heavier accusations to

endure. This account is too obscure to be at all worthy of John.[1] Now it is perfectly true that if the evangelist had wished to relate the history for its own sake, he might well have wrought it more in detail. On the other hand, since it is only of weight for him in its symbolical significance, his record is also controlled from this point of view. Schweizer failed to observe that the abrupt close (vers. 20, 21) is a strong proof of this. The only remaining question is, whether this account has a significance suited to the context; to this, as I believe, a sufficient answer will be given in its place.

After this, the objections on the score of language do not amount to much. The failure to use the genitive absolute in ver. 16, *ὡσ δὲ ὀψία ἐγένετο* ('when even was now come'), and in ver. 17, *σκοτία ἤδη ἐγεγόνει* ('and it was now dark'), is said to betray the interpolator, because John writes in xx. 19, *οὔσησ ὀψίασ* ('at evening'), and in xx. 1, *σκοτίασ ἔτι οὔσησ* ('when it was yet dark'). This contradicts itself in the fact that the pretended interpolator also uses the genitive absolute, ii. 3 iv. 51, vi. 18, and xxi. 4, and so cannot be recognised by his failure to use it; and further, in the fact that John often does not use the genitive absolute where he could have used it,—as, for example, v. 1, vii. 2 (compare ver. 14), 45, xi. 41, xiii. 31, xix. 23 (*ἦν δὲ χιτών*, etc., 'now the coat,' etc.), 31 (*ἐπεὶ παρασκευὴ ἦν*, 'because it was the preparation'), 42, and so cannot be recognised by the use of this construction. Besides, it is a stout demand to make of an author, that he shall always use a single construction. But again, the free use of *καί*, 'and,' vi. 17, 18, 19, 21, is suspected by the critic as Hebraizing, and rather synoptic than Johannean. Not to mention the fact that John, too, has Hebraisms, like the frequent use of *ἴδε* and *ἰδού* ('behold!'), or the paraphrasing the finite verb by the participle with *εἶναι* ('to be'), v. 32, vi. 64, xviii. 25;[2] the copious use of *καί* in connecting sentences appears elsewhere in this evangelist. It is well known that he does not write in great periods, but in short sentences: more of this again.

[1] Schweizer, *Das Evangelium Johannes*, Leipzig 1841, pp. 90-96.

[2] Compare Thiersch, *Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpunkts für die Kritik der neutestamentlichen Schriften*, Erlangen 1845, p. 70; and J. D. Schulze, *Der schriftstellerische Charakter und Werth des Johannes*, Weissenfels und Leipzig 1803, p. 115. Schulze does not choose carefully enough the passages which he cites.

Just compare with the above passages i. 10, ii. 12–16, 'And the passover was at hand . . . and Jesus went up . . . and found . . . and when He had made . . . and said,' and iii. 22 ff.

Such is the quality of Schweizer's objections to the language and other matters. No like attempt has been made since. Weisse[1] tried to prove that in this gospel short Johannean studies were worked over by a later hand; and Weizsäcker[2] thinks that discourses or records of John's lay at the basis of the gospel. But both of these bear upon the contents, not the external composition of the book, and belong to the question of its authenticity, not of its integrity.

The suspicion of a want of genuineness certainly touches a few passages in the gospel. These are: the words concerning the angel at the pool of Bethesda, v. 3, 4, 'waiting for . . . disease he had' (*ἐκδεχομένων . . . νοσήματι*); the account of the adulteress, vii. 53, viii. 1–11; and the appendix, chap. xxi. The discussion of these will come up in the regular exposition of the respective passages.

[1] Weisse, *Die Evangelienfrage in ihrem gegenwärtigen Stadium*, Leipzig 1856, pp. 16–62, 111–132.

[2] Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte ihre Quellen und den Gang ihrer Entwickelung*, Gotha 1864, pp. 220–302.

II.

THE LANGUAGE.

THE elevation of John's language and thought has always been greatly lauded. In the ancient church, the title 'Son of Thunder,' which he as well as his brother James received from the Lord, was referred to this loftiness.[1] Calov[2] contrasts this well with the just remark of Grotius, that John reminds us of Hebrew simplicity by his preference for copulative combinations and repetitions. Flaccius Illyricus treats of John's style more profoundly, but still only in brief. He observes that John, in distinction from Paul, combines elevation with a certain tender mildness: 'Yet he sometimes uses as it were a gentle, condescending speech, as when a father converses at home with his loving children; and he more rarely employs the weight and severity of Paul.'[3] Among the peculiarities of John's language, Flaccius points out especially the liking for epexegesis, antithesis, antithetic repetition, and repetition in general; then he gives a list of words and phrases peculiar to John, such as the great general ideas, and the frequent use of the demonstrative, 'This is' (*οὗτός ἐστιν*).

Schulze[4] makes the language of John the object of special study. But he merely gives a collection, often quite uncritical, of single passages, under certain rubrics, most of which are arbitrary. Seyffarth[5] limits himself chiefly to the mention of

[1] Basil in 'Homily' on the beginning of this gospel.

[2] Calov in his *Biblia Illustrata*.

[3] Flaccius Illyricus, *Clavis Scripturæ*, ii., Basel 1628, p. 528 ff.: 'Tametsi aliquando etiam quasi blanda demissaque voce, ut pater domi cum dulcissimis filiolis colloquatur; rariusque Pauli gravitatem et severitatem adhibeat.'

[4] Schulze, *Schriftstellerischer Charakter und Werth des Johannes*, Weissenfels und Leipzig, 1803, 1811.

[5] Seyffarth, *Ein Beitrag zur Special Charakteristik der Johanneischen Schriften, besonders des Johanneischen Evangeliums*, Leipzig 1823.

John's poverty of speech and small knowledge of language; he discusses at length only the Johannean ideas. Kaiser[1] attempted, more energetically, but still not satisfactorily, to explain the various peculiarities of the language from the mental peculiarities of the author. Kaiser takes the ground that in John, as a 'Son of Thunder,' a 'very glowing disposition' (*fervidius ingenium*) was united to a certain mental calmness and firmness, or joy in, and tender love towards, God, Christ, and men. Then he offers the following particulars in no good order:—

1. The omission of the article, especially in the case of general (dogmatical) notions, which he opposed, and that, too, with a certain lively colouring, to the improper application of it by Cerinthus, the Essenes, and the Hemerobaptists. Under this he reckons i. 4, ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν = ἡ ζωή ('in Him was life = the life'), i. 14, v. 1 (the feast of Tabernacles = the Jewish feast by pre-eminence), and vi. 33.

2. The use of abstract nouns, i. 11, iii. 6, vi. 37.

3. Preference for the plural, i. 13, iii. 23, xiii. 4.

4. Putting the predicate first for emphasis, i. 1, vi. 60, viii. 51.

5. Putting pronouns first, vi. 20, vii. 36, ix. 16, xi. 47.

6. Emphatic repetition, v. 36, 37, vi. 57, vii. 18.

7. Use of the preterite with the meaning of the present in denoting dispositions of the mind and the like, which began in past time but still continue in the present, vi. 69. Nevertheless, Kaiser opposes the lawless exchange of tenses formerly imputed to the evangelist.

8. Frequent use of ἴδε and ἰδού ('behold!'), to be explained by the vividness of the relation and description.

9. Use of substantive expressions (with prepositions) instead of adverbs, vii. 4, 13, 26, x. 24, xi. 14, xvi. 25, 29, xviii. 20, etc., to be explained by a preference for abstract methods of speech.

10. Frequent use of εἰς and ἐν ('in, into, or unto'), i. 18, viii. 26, ix. 7, xxi. 4, to emphasize communion, belonging together, and the like; this especially fits the apostle of love.

11. Preference for ἵνα ('that, in order that') instead of

[1] Kaiser, two programmes: *De speciali Joannis apostoli grammatica culpa negligentiæ liberanda*, Erlangæ 1842.

ὥστε ('so that') or ὅτι ('in order that'), iv. 36, v. 20, vii. 23, etc., from deeper doctrinal reasons.

12. Syntactical peculiarities, owing to the impulsive disposition of the writer, or to his apologetical and pragmatical tendency; as, (*a*) long periods, v. 22–24; (*b*) ellipses, anacoluthon, and changes of construction, v. 44, vii. 49, xvii. 2; (*c*) parentheses, i. 14, 39, ii. 19, iv. 2, 9; (*d*) paronomasia, iii. 6; (*e*) breviloquence, xiv. 31, ix. 36, xv. 24; (*f*) pleonasm, i. 26, v. 35, vi. 21, viii. 44, 56, xi. 7, ix. 34.

Anybody can see for himself that the attempt, especially in this last paragraph, loses itself again in external combination.

Gersdorf's[1] *Essays on the Characteristics of the New Testament Writers* are a diligent collection, but their gain for the actual characterizing of the New Testament books is not to be estimated very highly. David Schulz[2] wove into his book on the Lord's Supper a few remarks on the subject before us; most of them are good.

Wilke, in his *New Testament Rhetoric of* 1843, gives many just observations. He marks as peculiarly Johannean in the rhetoric, a tendency to paint, to dramatize, and the like; in the dialectics, (1) an ideal dogmatical character, including the symbolizing manner and the tendency to analogy; and (2) unvarying methods of expression and unvarying construction of sentences (definitions, general phrases, explanatory appositions, use of the demonstrative, return to what precedes), union of affirmation and negation, etc. Ewald[3] emphasizes the original colouring of John's diction, not found elsewhere, arising from the peculiar mingling of Hebrew and Hellenistic. This shows itself, for example, in the frequent use of οὖν ('then'), which corresponds to the Hebrew *Vav consecutive.*

Let us first depict the general impression which this book

[1] Gersdorf, *Beiträge zur Sprachcharakteristik der Schriftsteller des N. T.* I., Leipzig 1816.

[2] Schulz, *Die christliche Lehre vom heiligen Abendmahl nach dem Grundtexte des N. T. Ein Versuch,* Leipzig 1824, p. 146, in part also p. 54 f. Compare also Ebrard, *Das Evangelium Johannis und die neueste Hypothese über seine Entstehung,* Zürich 1854, secs. 10–12, pp. 141–187; *Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte,* 3d ed., Frankfort-on-the-Maine 1868, p. 1105 ff.; Kern, 'Erörterung der Hauptthatsachen der evangelischen Geschichte,' u. s. w., *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie,* 1838, 2. Heft, p. 47; Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium Johannis,* 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. pp. 168–173.

[3] Ewald, *Die johanneischen Schriften,* Göttingen 1861, vol. i. pp. 44–47.

makes on the reader at the outset. In order to lead that general impression to more conscious knowledge, separate inquiries will follow. These will treat of the material, the construction, and the character of the language.

1. The First Impression.

He who turns from the first gospel to read the fourth, will at once feel another spirit breathing on him from the language of the latter. There is something higher and more spiritual in this language. The facts that there is so little mere narrative, and that there are so many, and for the most part such long, discourses, tend of themselves to give it another stamp. The whole is thereby made of a more thoughtful style. The very beginning is characteristic. It moves us strangely to read, not about Jesus' birth or youth, but about Word, life, and light. It is like history, and yet again like great ideas. We think that we must have understood it, and nevertheless feel that there is always something left which we have not perfectly comprehended. The way the thoughts are worded adds much to this. There are discourses in the synoptists too, but how different they are! In each the things of the kingdom of God are compared with the things of the visible order of the world, but in each with an utterly distinct character. In the synoptists, the natural objects brought in for comparison serve merely to make the method and history of the kingdom of God more distinct. In John, on the other hand, when light, water, bread, shepherd and sheep, vine, and the like, come into view, it is not as to single sides wherein the middle term of comparison lies. The whole thing, the exact essence of the thing, is at once identified with the other object. That *is* that, or I *am* that. It is as if the speaker went to the very heart of the matter, and did not trouble himself about the external side of the phenomenon. It is as though in what is innermost and most hidden, all things, even Christianity and nature, formed a unity. We feel that the thoughts of the writer go into the depths, and always comprehend a vast universality. It is true, we meet with single general sentences in the synoptists as well, but they are like maxims, and therefore are somewhat popular. Besides, they

are almost always of moral contents, and are hence easily comprehensible. It seems in John as if physics and ethics were one. The evangelist is ever busy with the central being and life, trying to grasp and reveal it. This is conceived in great general ideas, which hardly assume a definite form in the understanding. It seems to us as if there were so much combined in every such word that we cannot view and comprehend the whole at one moment. Then, too, we see that in particular passages in which only special single phases of the general object should come into consideration, the evangelist prefers to use a great, entire, full word, rather than to split it into the separate parts of ideas and rays of thought. The whole connection of thought must always be held to firmly. At each point he rests upon the whole object, and at the same time pursues it in thought to its last foundations and relations. Dialectic movement does not rule in his mode of expression. Hence there is something soothing about his language. We soon feel, too, that only calmness of feeling, only a like disposition, can perceive duly and understand the peculiarities of the thought. It almost seems as if it would have been hard for the writer to have framed his rich contemplations in the words of the ordinary earthly understanding. We do not mean that he moves uncertainly in the language; yet he handles it with caution and deliberation, and willingly keeps inside of the limits which he has drawn for himself in the expression of the essential thoughts, and in which first of all, and as we see by preference, he feels himself at home. And since the same great conceptions and ideas return over and over again, the language becomes almost monotonous, colourless,—yes, almost poor. But then, again, these very repetitions soon gain a peculiar impressiveness. For, in fact, the conceptions or ideas that recur are not metaphysical, but great moral ones. These begin to move our souls gently in their innermost being, to affect them strongly, to lead them to decision. The uniformity here, with its power to affect us, is similar to, but of a much grander fashion than, that in the 'German Theology.'[1]

[1] *Eyn teutsch Theologia, das ist, eyn edles Büchlein vom rechten Verstand, was Adam und Christus sey, und wie Adam yn uns sterben und Christus ersteen soll.* A mystical book of great value in preparing the way for the Reformers. It was

Besides, this uniformity has a lofty flight. When it tells of the love of God or of the unbelief of men, or when Christ opens His heart in prayer and intercession, it sounds like poetry. The very beginning is a soaring rhythm in the elevated style of the Old Testament poetry. It puts us in a susceptible, calm, and yet impassioned mood. It may be likened to a magnificent overture which precedes a drama, and which tells in its tones the whole of the story that is coming, and at the same time makes us feel it.

This impression given by the gospel recalls to the soul involuntarily the picture of that disciple John as we know him from history. For the various features which history reports to us, the devotion and entire resignation to the personally revealed life, the repetition of the one short exhortation to brotherly love, the avoiding all disputation, and further, the polemics in his first epistle, which are kept so general and confined to principles,—all these agree exactly with the general picture and impression which the first reading of the fourth gospel makes on us.

2. The Materials of the Language.

(1.) *Words repeated.*

The first thing that at once strikes every one is the frequent return of the same words, especially of ideal designations. The language of the evangelist moves in a rather limited range of general ideal conceptions and expressions. If I have counted rightly, a few of these words occur as follows: *φῶς* ('light') twenty-three times; *δόξα* ('glory') twenty times, and the corresponding verb twenty-two times; *ζωή* ('life') thirty-six times; *ζῆν* ('to live') sixteen times; and *ζωοποιεῖν* ('to give life, to cause to live') three times, without counting the numerous negative designations, as *θάνατον μὴ θεωρεῖν* ('not to see death') and the like. *μαρτυρία* ('testimony') fourteen times, and *μαρτυρεῖν* ('to testify') thirty-three times; *γινώσκειν* ('to know') fifty-five times; *κόσμος* ('world') seventy-eight times; *πιστεύειν* ('to believe') ninety-eight times; *ἔργον* ('work') twenty-seve

written in the fifteenth century. See Guericke, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschich* 6th ed., Leipzig 1846, vol. ii. p. 365.—C. R. G.]

times, and ἐργάζεσθαι ('to work') three times; λαμβάνειν ('to receive') forty-four times, and παραλαμβάνειν ('to receive') three times; ὄνομα ('name') twenty-five times; κρίνειν ('to judge') nineteen times, and κρίσις ('judgment') eleven times; ἀλήθεια ('truth') twenty-five times, ἀληθής ('true') fifteen times, and ἀληθινός ('true') nine times; and σημεῖον ('sign') seventeen times.

Nor is this all. The same words often follow close upon each other within a small space. This adds to the force of the repetition. Thus, in the tenth chapter, we read πρόβατον ('sheep') fifteen [Received Text, seventeen] times; and in the seventeenth chapter, κόσμος ('world') eighteen times, often directly after one another. Look at δόξα ('glory') and δοξάζειν ('to glory'), xvii. 1, 4, 5, or xiii. 31, 32; μαρτυρεῖν ('to testify') and μαρτυρία ('witness'), v. 31, 34, 36; ἄρτος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ('bread from heaven'), vi. 31–35; and ὁ ἄρτος ('the bread'), vi. 48–51. Usually these are very broad conceptions. It is true that they always keep the same meaning, but they let a particular side come to view in each particular connection. For example, how variously the one single idea of ζωή ('life') is conceived! It is always the highest good which is given to men in Christ. But now that good appears in so far as it is in Christ, i. 4, xi. 25, xiv. 6; or in His word, vi. 63; or in the knowledge wrought by Him, xvii. 3; now, in so far as it is in the believers, as something present, v. 24, vi. 47, 54, as something future, v. 25, 29, vi. 58; now, as powerful, iv. 10, vi. 53; now, as saving, x. 10, xiv. 19; now, as eternal, iv. 14; now, as personal life, iii. 15, v. 24, vi. 27; and now, as natural life, v. 25, vi. 57. Indeed, this life is brought forward sometimes in the unity of the various factors, and sometimes in view of a particular side, though in this last the other factors are not to be thought of as utterly excluded. Observe, also, how variously the phases of δόξα ('glory') are presented, i. 14, xi. 4, 40, xvii. 5, 24.

(2.) *The Evangelist's great general Conceptions.*

This leads us to the circle of ideas which the evangelist uses. We find purely words of great generality, from which we always have to take out for ourselves the particular

appropriate phase, though, at the same time, we are not allowed to forget the rest of the meaning. And hence the evangelist's language receives the character of depth and fulness. On this account he is often said to be 'very easy in his words and very difficult in his meaning' (*'verbis facillimus, sensu difficillimus'*); or, as Heinsius expressed it, 'in speech, simplicity; in meaning, sublimity' (*'in sermone ἀφέλεια, in sensibus est ὕψος'*). It was thought, therefore, that it was not possible to make a detailed doctrinal system from John's gospel, and that the only practicable thing was to follow up the various general classes of ideas. There is a generality, a seeming indefiniteness in expression. Unlike keen dialectic language, this does not force the reader from the first to remain at a single phase of the thought. It seems to allow him at once to indulge and to rest himself in the broad compass of the thought. This characteristic of the gospel has in all ages exercised great attractive power on Christian feeling. Most frequently, however, people stopped at the impression of the comprehensive richness and at the emotional enjoyment of it, without reaching a clear knowledge of the single thought. Besides, such apparent indefiniteness calls out individual liberty of choice. No other book (except the Revelation, and that for a different reason) has been exposed to such manifold misuse. People have only too often found in it what they wished to find. Of course they did not seek the ground for this in themselves, but in the book. And then they raised such complaints against it as we read in the Socinians and Rationalists of 'a concise, abrupt obscurity, by no means consistent and made up of allegories;' or of a 'mystical twilight in which we find . . . more warmth than light, and in which clearness of expression is joined to obscurity of ideas.'[1]

If we turn from this phenomenon to the corresponding mental peculiarity of the writer, Lücke gives us the right view.[2] Paul's discursive and dialectic manner is the ground for his

[1] Enjadinus and Wegscheider in Schulze, *Der schriftstellerische Charakter und Werth des Johannes*, Weissenfels and Leipzig, p. 107; Seyffarth, *Ein Beitrag zur Special-Charakteristik der Johanneischen Schriften*, Leipzig 1823, p. 32.

[2] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium Johannis*, Einleitung, sec. 1, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. p. 172.

more extensive sweep of language and his more individualizing way of speaking, and at the same time for his more periodological style, and hence for the more Greek-like tone of his writings. In contrast with this manner of Paul's, Lücke designates John's as a contemplative and comprehensive method of thought. This, however, stands in close relation to his conception and presentation of Christianity, and reveals to us the fundamental character of his so-called system of doctrine. Indeed, in my opinion, this way in which Christianity mirrored itself in his mind, was the determining cause of the peculiarity of language, or at least of its development to such a degree. That is to say, in respect to good as well as in respect to evil, concerning 'life' and 'light' as well as concerning 'darkness' and 'falsehood,' he names that which is principal and causal, and that which is secondary and humanly realized, by the same expressions. Hence a spirit of analogy, or rather of unity, breathes both through the book and through the presentation of Christianity. He sees beginning, middle, and end together in one. They are to him, and he names them as, a unity. Every separate part is to him a reflection and a phase of the whole; in fact, it is for him the whole, 'in a nutshell.' In each separate thing the first and the whole is present to him, that is, God or the devil. This shape of the matter about which he gives an account is the reason for his liking to keep the same general words and expressions. He intends by this always to put before our eyes the objective unity of the whole and of the separate parts, of the first and the last. Thus he sets forth at the very beginning of his gospel a pair of sentences, to which he constantly returns. They are like tones which, when once struck, continue to vibrate in the ear and in the soul. In this way the phrase, 'in him was life,' i. 4, runs through the whole gospel: v. 26, vi. 35, 48, 51, xi. 25, xiv. 6; used subjectively: iii. 15, 16, 36, v. 24, vi. 40, 47, etc., xx. 31; and figuratively: iv. 14, vi. 51, 54, 57, etc. The case is the same with the other phrase, 'and the life was the light of men:' i. 4, i. 5, 7, 8, 9, iii. 19, viii. 12, ix. 5, xii. 35, 46.

It is often said that the evangelist in this connection chooses abstract and collective ideas instead of concrete

names.[1] The reason for this does not lie in the Greek language of that day, though that, like ancient thought in general, began then to be more abstract. Look at a few Greek and Latin words. Plutarch calls studies ζῆλοσ ('zeal'); that by which one wins favour for himself χάρισ ('grace'); and gifts φιλοφροσύναι ('benevolences'). Tacitus calls the act of amnesty 'clementia' ('mildness'), suffering 'patientia' ('endurance'), sums of gold given 'liberalitas' ('liberality') and 'munificentia' ('munificence'), a rash act 'audacia' ('boldness'), poverty 'inopia' ('want'), and elaboration 'cura' ('care'). Vellejus calls notice 'notitia' ('acquaintance'), a band of conspirators 'conjurationis globus' ('ball or mass of the conspiracy'), and a numerous assembly 'frequentia' ('frequency'). We can see at the first glance that these abstractions are specifically different from those of John. In these authors, plainly to the detriment of the language, an abstract is used for a concrete in the exact sense of the phrase ('abstractum pro concreto'). In John, real, essential generalities are meant to be designated.

John's method seems more nearly related to the abstractions of a Philo. Philo, however, partly following Plato, and still more the Porch,[2] moves in generalities which are mere images of thought without living contents. Whereas John's ideas are vivid contemplations of realities. Indeed, they express the actual realities, which form the foundations of all others, and of which all else is but an imperfect copy. That which before the gospel and aside from the gospel was or is only given in an indirect, incomplete earthly way, finds its truth and completeness in what the gospel proclaims. This is the thing which in truth deserves the names that the earthly analogies possess in fee, such as the true life, the true light, and so forth. John, moreover, does not purpose to report the outward history of the incarnate one for its own sake, and as such: he gives it simply for the sake of its meaning, and of what is contained in it. He intends to reveal the meaning of this Jesus and His history, what is given to

[1] See Schulze, *Der schriftstellerische Charakter und Werth des Johannes*, Weissenfels and Leipzig, 1803, p. 90.

[2] [Zeno of Citium taught in the Porch (στοά, stoa) at Athens, whence his disciples were called philosophers of the Porch, or Stoics.—C. R. G.]

humanity in and with Him, the fulness of the blessing that appeared in Him, the fulness of the good things that are to be found in Him,—in a word, the essential contents of His person and history. Hence arise the essential generalities in expression.

(3.) *Phrases repeated.*

The remark as to the frequent repetition of the same words, obtains likewise for phrases. The transition to this is found in verbal paraphases of a substantive, as *εἶναι ἔν τινι*, *μένειν ἔν τινι* ('to be, to remain in a certain person'), to designate the communion between God and Christ, and between Christ and His people. For the first expression, see xiv. 10, 11, 20; and for the second, xv. 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11.

To describe the same circumstances, the apostle likes to keep the term once chosen. Thus, to express Jesus' relation of dependence upon the Father as regards His mission, we find as a rule: *ἔρχεσθαι* ('to come'), iii. 2, 19, 31, vi. 14, vii. 28, viii. 42, xii. 46, xvi. 28, 30, xviii. 37; *ὁ πέμψας με* ('He that sent me'), vii. 28, 33, viii. 26, 29, ix. 4, xii. 49; *ἀποστέλλω* ('to send'), iii. 17, v. 38, vi. 29, 57, x. 36, xx. 21; and *καταβαίνειν ἐκ* or *ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* ('to come down from heaven'), iii. 13, vi. 33, 38, 41, 42, 51, 58. For dependence on the Father as regards His doctrine, compare *ὁ ἑωράκαμεν μαρτυροῦμεν* ('we testify that which we have seen'), iii. 11, viii. 38, and *ὃ ἑώρακεν καὶ ἤκουσεν, τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ* ('what He hath seen and heard, that He testifieth'), iii. 32, with *ἀκούω* ('to hear'), v. 30, viii. 26, with *διδάσκω* ('to teach'), *ταῦτα λαλῶ* ('I speak these things'), viii. 28 (as in viii. 26). The following examples are from Schulze,[1] who may be further consulted: *ἐμὸν βρῶμά ἐστιν, ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ* κτλ. ('my meat is to do the will of Him,' etc.), iv. 34, v. 30, vi. 38; *ἄλλον παράκλητον δώσει ὑμῖν . . . τὸ πνεῦμα* ('He shall give you another Comforter . . . the Spirit'), xiv. 16 f., 26, xv. 26, xvi. 7, 13; *ὅτι ἂν αἰτήσητε* κτλ. ('whatsoever ye shall ask,' etc.), xiv. 13, 14, xv. 7, xvi. 23, 24; *τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἔδωκέν μοι ὁ πατήρ, ἵνα* κτλ. ('the

[1] Schulze, *Der schriftstellerische Charakter und Werth des Johannes*, Weissenfels and Leipzig 1803, pp. 67–70.

works which the Father hath given me to,' etc.), v. 36, x. 25 f. κἂν ἐμοὶ μὴ πιστεύητε, τοῖς ἔργοις πιστεύσατε ('though ye believe not me, believe the works'), x. 38, xiv. 11.

These examples lead us to the language of narration.

Our evangelist has a great liking for the phrase μετὰ τοῦτο ('after this') as a form of transition to a new part of his historical account, ii. 12, iii. 22 (iv. 43), v. 1, vi. 1, vii. 1. After vii. 1 this formula disappears, because the disputes give the narrative more movement. True, the historical narrative reappears in the eleventh and twelfth chapters, and yet this phrase does not occur in them except at the opening words, xi. 7. The reason is that the decisive facts are here to be told, and the more calm μετὰ τοῦτο does not suit them. Instead of this, in order to call attention to the way in which one thing leads to or follows from another, and to show that the matters came to pass by an internal necessity, οὖν ('then, therefore') is often repeated, and only changes off with δέ ('and'). Thus οὖν stands at the head of the chief divisions, xi. 17, 45, 47, 54, xii. 1, 9, 17. It is also found between the details of the narrative, xi. 3, 6, 12, 14, 16, 20, 21, 31, 32, 33, 36, 38, 41, etc. The same phenomenon reappears at the last historical narrative, from the arrest to the death on the cross. Here, too, each point comes from another, and the whole forms a unity. Hence the chief divisions are for the most part connected by οὖν, xviii. 12, 28, xix. 1, 16, 23, 31. See also xviii. 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 17, 19, etc. When the account changes to a living dialogue the οὖν disappears as before; see for example after xviii. 19. We find μετὰ ταῦτα again only after the narrative has reached the death and passed on to the burial, xix. 38. It then at once disappears a second time, for the history develops speedily to the external glorification in the resurrection.

It must seem still more striking that μετὰ τοῦτο is repeatedly joined with a following καὶ ἐγγύς ('and at hand'), ii. 12, 13, vi. 1, 4, vii. 1, 2. Schulze[1] calls attention to the fact that, though the same words are used only in part, it is often remarked concerning Jesus that He withdrew Himself

[1] Schulze, *Der schriftstellerische Charakter und Werth des Johannes*, Weissenfels and Leipzig 1803, p. 75.

from the eyes of men, v. 13, vi. 3, 15, viii. 1, 59, x. 39, xi. 54, xii. 36. This added to the preceding points us to a peculiarity of the historical narrative, and offers us the ground for the explanation of many repetitions of the same turns, phrases, and sentences.

It is plainly of set purpose. The evangelist constantly returns to, and lays emphasis upon, that which repeats itself in the outward life of Jesus Christ. Thus he shows that there is a law of analogy in that life. Looking at the ideas, we found that the evangelist conceived the last in the first, the whole in the single part, and the reverse. Here it is the same with the history. The first facts contain at heart all that follow. The latter came from the former. We have, as it were, circles, which develop one from the other. The one that precedes repeats itself, only with an advance, in the one that follows This is the reason for Baur's[1] complaint that the action has no historical progress. All is finished at the very beginning. Hence the same thing is constantly repeated. Therefore it cannot be real history. It is a mere movement of thought Baur's notion is, that the evangelist has destroyed the story and made the progress of the action impossible by taking up at the very opening of the recital, the last thing of all, the stay at Jerusalem. At the same time, Baur says that the evangelist wished to frame at least the appearance of a development. But if this were the case, the evangelist would in the course of the relation have given more variety, at least in expression, so as to conceal the historical repetitions. He certainly would not have contented himself with such mechanical and external helps, only to remark again and again that the blow, for which the hand had been outstretched at the first, had not yet fallen.[2] On the contrary, we certainly should see design in the phenomenon mentioned. The evangelist is quite skilful enough in this subordinate range of language to be able to vary the expression. The fact is, that the evangelist uses these repetitions to show clearly that the whole development and its end had been given at the beginning in germ, and that at heart the same

[1] Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 847, p. 283 ff.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 283, 284.

actual relations appear everywhere and constantly. We shall see at a later point, that in spite of this method of history and of historical narrative, which I might almost call spiral, there is still enough dramatic progress and development in the gospel.

This remark must first of all hold good where the reception of Jesus by men is spoken of. Again and again we read, 'and they (or many) believed on Him,' ii. 11, 22, iv. 39, 41, 53, vii. 31, viii. 30, x. 42, xi. 45, xii. 11, 42; or, 'they believed not, they persecuted Him, they sought to slay Him,' i. 10, 11, iii. 32, v. 16, 18, vii. 1, 19, 30, 32, 44, viii. 20, 40, 59, x. 31, 39, xi. 8, 53, 57, xii. 37. Likewise, on the one hand, the same accusations against Jesus are repeated, ὅτι δαιμόνιον ἔχει ('he hath a devil'), vii. 20, viii. 48, 49, 52, x. 20, 21; and, on the other hand, the same acknowledgments, with regard to Him, iv. 29, 42, vi. 14, 69, ix. 17, xi. 27, xvi. 30. We may compare with this the remark that Judas should, or would betray Him: it appears after a certain crisis, and is then frequently repeated, vi. 71, xii. 4, xiii. 2, 11, 18, etc.

After what we have seen, I should not like to speak of the evangelist's 'slender knowledge of language' and the like. In certain historical parts he shows abundant skill in using the materials of the language. The case may be somewhat different where the expression of what is specifically Christian is in question. But that is to be laid to the age, not to the author. Christianity at that time had not yet quite assimilated itself to the Greek language. The spirit of Christianity is still searching among the linguistic treasures of Greek expressions. Here, then, we have a particular, and on the whole still a small domain laid off, which has become the property of Christian thought. The evangelist does not like to go beyond it. At the same time, as we have seen, he gains thereby another end. This latter obtains even in a more exclusive manner in the historical narrative and its repetitions. Historically, too, the whole is to be shown in the parts, the last in the first, the development and the result in the beginning. He means to make it clear that the final destiny of Jesus was not in the least a matter of chance, but necessary,—that is, divinely wrought.

3. The Construction and Union of Sentences.

(1.) *Simplicity of Sentences.*

Herder[1] praises simplicity as the greatest beauty of John's gospel. Thiersch[2] decides, too, that 'in his historical and in his didactic book, wherein the clearest recollection and the calmest contemplation mirror themselves, John has matured that peculiar plainness and simplicity of style, after the fashion of which nothing greater than these two works has ever been written.'

This is seen even in the simple way of making the sentences. At the beginning, the simplest sentences file one after the other, and it is the same through the whole gospel. He uses by preference the simplest tenses and the simplest moods. There is not an optative to be found. The dialogue is as plain as the historical narrative. Let us take a case: Jesus talking to the Samaritan woman. In its introduction the simplest form of construction prevails, iv. 3–8; and in the conversation itself we have in almost unbroken interchange λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή ('the woman saith unto Him'), iv. 9, 11, 15, 19, 25, and λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ('Jesus saith unto her'), or a like phrase, iv. 7, 10, 13, 16, 17, 21, 26. We find the same thing in the discourses of Jesus, as, for instance, in the tenth and seventeenth chapters. The simplicity of expression and construction seems almost to increase in proportion to the internal wealth and to the many-sidedness of the thought. Look at the sayings wherewith Jesus characterizes Himself, ἐγώ εἰμι ('I am'), etc., x. 9, 11, xi. 25, xiv. 6, and so on.

Uniformity.

Such simplicity in the evangelist's language easily becomes uniform or monotonous, as we see from the above-mentioned example, iv. 7–26, in which λέγει αὐτῷ or αὐτῇ ('she saith unto Him,' or 'He saith unto her') begins sentences nine

[1] Herder, *Von Gottes Sohn, der Welt Heiland, nach Johannes Evangelium*, Riga 1797.

[2] Thiersch, *Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpunkts für die Kritik der neutestamentlichen Schriften*, Erlangen 1845, p. 61.

times, and in like manner occurs again in vers. 49, 50. It is as if we heard the well-known וַיֹּאמֶר ('and He said'). The words which introduce sayings or discourses are almost universally alike. See, for example, ii. 4, 5, 7, and iii. 3, 5, 11: *ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω κτλ.* ('verily, verily, I say,' etc.). As here, so elsewhere the evangelist likes to begin with the verb. The verb comes first in every verse i. 40–52, except verse 44. The following passages show the same trait: ii. 17–20, iii. 3–5, 9, 10, iv. 3–7, 9–11, 13, 15–17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 26, 28, 30, 33, 34, 46, 48–50, 52, 53, vi. 7–11, xi. 23–25, 27, 39, 40, 41, 47, 56, 57, xiii. 36–38, xiv. 5–11, xviii. 5, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 23, 24–26, 28–31, 33–40, etc.

The uniformity changes into circumstantiality in expressing something said, or an answer. The formula *ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ εἶπεν* ('He answered and said') occurs unusually often, i. 49, 50, 51, iii. 3, 9, 10, 27, iv. 10, 13, 17, v. 19, vi. 29, 43, vii. 16, viii. 48, ix. 20, 30, xii. 30, xiii. 7, etc. Like prolixity meets us in other turns, as, *ἐμαρτύρησεν λέγων* ('bare record, saying'), i. 32; *ἠρώτησαν αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ* ('and they asked Him, and said unto Him'), i. 25; *ἀπεκρίθη λέγων* ('answered, saying'), i. 26; *μαρτυρεῖ καὶ κέκραγεν λέγων* ('bare witness, and cried, saying'), i. 15; *ἔκραξεν διδάσκων καὶ λέγων* ('cried . . . as He taught, saying'), vii. 28; *ἐλάλησαν λέγων* ('spake, saying'), viii. 12, etc.

Further, the impression of circumstantiality is lent by the repetition of words that have just been used, and could be easily supplied or at least replaced by pronouns; thus, for example, iii. 23, 24, John; iv. 1, 2, Jesus; xii. 3, xv. 16, xix. f. These passages should be carefully distinguished from those in which a special emphasis is to be secured by the repetition, as in i. 10, xix. 10. Winer[1] has already called attention to the fact that an Oriental stamp is impressed upon the language by this circumstantiality.

This circumstantiality appears still more distinctly when complete little sentences or forms of speech, which directly preceded almost exactly, are repeated in the discourse. Look

[1] Winer, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*, sec. 65. 4, 7th ed., Leipzig 1867, p. 563. Translated by Professor Moulton. Edinburgh, 1876, 8th edition.

at iv. 7, 10, *δός μοι πιεῖν* ('Give me to drink'); v. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, *ἆρον τὸν κράββατόν σου καὶ περιπάτει* ('Rise, take up thy bed, and walk'); vi. 39, 40, 44, *ἀναστήσω αὐτόν* ('I will raise him up'); vi. 37, 39, 40, *πᾶσ* ('all, every'). Ottfried Müller[1] has referred similar methods of narration in Herodotus to the Oriental character of the style here to be recognised.

Connected with this we have the fact that the words of another are almost without exception introduced in direct speech. See i. 19–28, vi. 41, 42, vii. 11, 36, 40, 41, 45, 46, 47, viii. 22, 33, 54, ix. 8, 9 ff., 41. I can only recall a single example of indirect speech: iv. 51, *ὅτι ὁ παῖσ αὐτοῦ ζῇ* ('that his son was alive').[2]

Here, too, we may refer to the peculiarity of the evangelist in continually coming back to certain ruling thoughts and sentences. This has given the opponents of the gospel occasion to make the objection that it is tedious,—an objection especially laid upon the seventeenth chapter, as is well known. But whoever gives himself up sincerely to the impression of these repeated sentences will easily feel how forcible they are. Perhaps this will be plainer, if I write out an example or two of very close repetition: v. 19, *οὐ δύναται ὁ υἱὸσ ποιεῖν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐδέν, ἂν μή τι βλέπῃ τὸν πατέρα ποιοῦντα· ἃ γὰρ ἂν ἐκεῖνοσ ποιῇ, ταῦτα καὶ ὁ υἱὸσ ποιεῖ ὁμοίωσ* ('the Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do: for what things soever He doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise'); vi. 46, *οὐχ ὅτι τὸν πατέρα ἑώρακέν τισ, εἰ μὴ ὁ ὢν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὗτοσ ἑώρακεν τὸν πατέρα* [*Θεόν*] ('not that any man hath seen the Father, save He which is of God, He hath seen the Father'). It is as if the writer wished to impress certain thoughts on the reader strongly and deeply.

(2.) *Impressiveness.*

Thus the uniformity of John's sentences takes the character impressiveness, and passes into it.

We see this at once in the fact that the evangelist likes to

[1] Müller, *Griechische Literatur Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 492.

[2] Winer, *Grammatik des N. T. Sprachidioms*, sec. 60. 9, 7th ed., Leipzig p. 507.

begin the sentences with the verb. It is a part of his habit of putting the emphatic word at the beginning to strengthen its impression. Sometimes he makes it still more conspicuous by putting the demonstrative after it, as iii. 32, *ὁ ἑώρακεν καὶ ἤκουσεν, τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ* ('what He hath seen and heard, that He testifieth'). Sometimes he takes it altogether away from its due grammatical place, as ii. 3, 4, vi. 9, *ἀλλὰ ταῦτα τί ἐστιν εἰς τοσούτους* ('but what are they among so many?'); vi. 60, vii. 31, viii. 45, x. 9, *δι' ἐμοῦ ἐάν τις εἰσέλθῃ* ('by me if any man enter in'); xi. 29, *ἐκείνη ὡς ἤκουσεν* ('as soon as she heard'), xi. 31, 32, 33, xiii. 1. And sometimes he breaks the grammatical construction at the verb, as vi. 39, *ἵνα πᾶν ὃ δέδωκεν μὴ ἀπολέσω ἐξ αὐτοῦ* ('that of all which He hath given me I should lose nothing'); vii. 38, *ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ . . . ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ* ('he that believeth on me . . . out of his belly . . . rivers'). The latter examples are directly related to the well-known breakings of the construction in the Revelation, as Rev. iii. 12, 21. These have been incorrectly made out to be Hebraisms.[1] If not from mere carelessness, they are a product of the rhetoric, although in Hebrew poetry they are more frequent and easier.

Together with this goes the habit of making the chief idea of the sentence emphatic by the retrospective pronoun. See iii. 32, v. 37, *ὁ πέμψας με πατήρ, ἐκεῖνος μεμαρτύρηκεν* ('the Father Himself which hath sent me, hath borne witness of me'); v. 38, *ὃν ἀπέστειλεν ἐκεῖνος, τούτῳ ὑμεῖς οὐ πιστεύετε* ('whom He hath sent, Him ye believe not'). At times he repeats the emphatic word itself, as v. 36, *τὰ γὰρ ἔργα, ἃ ἔδωκεν . . . αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα κτλ.* ('the works which . . . hath given . . . the same works,' etc.), vi. 46, viii. 26, 28, x. 25.

Here we may refer to the resolution of the finite verb into the participle with *εἶναι* ('to be'). Schulze[2] uncritically explains this without ceremony in all cases as a Hebraism. The fact is that the copula is separated from the verb in order to secure a special emphasis. See i. 28, v. 39, 45, viii. 18, xi. 1, xviii. 18, 25. It can only in a few cases b

[1] Leusden, *De dialectis N. T.*, ed. Fischer, p. 80 f.

[2] Schulze, *Der schriftstellerische Charakter und Werth des Johannes*, Weissenfels and Leipzig 1803, pp. 106–110, 115.

called a mere periphrasis, such as is customary in Aramaic.[1] Even in xviii. 25, vi. 64, and v. 32, the resolution is not without weight. The evangelist uses this construction to express what is permanent and the like, and in many cases at the same time avoids the optative. The fact that this construction is so familiar to him, as the examples show it to be, is certainly to be attributed to the influence of the Hebrew or Aramaic.

Participial Clauses.

The participial clauses, which seem to be carelessly appended, serve the same purpose. They are intended to make a single point especially prominent, and therefore give it a more independent position, so that it may tell better in the balance, and render itself more clearly perceptible. This is the case with passages like i. 12, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν . . . τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ('to them gave He power . . . to them that believe on His name'), iii. 13, v. 18, vii. 50, ix. 13. It is always to give emphasis to a weighty thought. Perhaps this thought characterizes a condition in which alone the thing expressed holds good, as at i. 12. Perhaps it gives the basis of what precedes, by making especially distinct a point which appears to be new, but which was really in what precedes, as iii. 13. Or it may be that it brings up, by way of proof, a point from which the preceding is inferred, or by which it is recognised, as at v. 18. Thus the awkwardness and the circumstantiality that seem to lie in these participial appositions have their particular design and effect.

(3.) *Force and Keenness.*

The observation of what is emphatic in the style of the evangelist leads us to the consideration of the force, and sometimes keenness, that are found in his formation of sentences.

The gospel is chiefly written in short sentences. The shorter they are, the weightier, as a rule. With what force

[1] Thiersch, *Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpunkts für die Kritik neutestamentlichen Schriften*, Erlangen 1845, p. 70.

the short sentences of the opening sweep along! They are the brief phrases of a lofty style, that bear in their simple brevity the stamp of grandeur. These curt phrases often give the discourse a certain decision. Look at vi. 68, *κύριε πρὸσ τίνα ἀπελευσόμεθα ; ῥήματα ζωῆσ αἰωνίου ἔχεισ* ('Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life'). Here also the fact that the phrases are not united by a conjunction helps the impression. See, again, vii. 19, *οὐ Μωϋσῆσ δέδωκεν ὑμῖν τὸν νόμον ; καὶ οὐδεὶσ ὑμῶν ποιεῖ τὸν νόμον. τί με ζητεῖτε ἀποκτεῖναι* ('did not Moses give you the law? and yet none of you keepeth the law. Why go ye about to kill me?'); and xi. 23, *ἀναστήσεται ὁ ἀδελφόσ σου* ('thy brother shall rise again'). Compare iii. 30–32, vi. 47–51, and vii. 16. The short sayings of Jesus about Himself seem to have this decision, as xi. 25, *ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἀνάστασισ καὶ ἡ ζωή* ('I am the resurrection and the life'); and viii. 12, *ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ φῶσ τοῦ κόσμου* ('I am the light of the world'). Such brevity is the expression of self-certainty and assurance. Nor does this confidence of the self-consciousness fail to make a great direct impression. There is something in it that almost compels belief.

This general character of decision is modified by the circumstances and connection. Brevity makes the contrast more striking, when the evangelist closes the hearing and the condemnation of Jesus with the words, *ἦν δὲ ὁ Βαραββᾶσ λῃστῆσ* (xviii. 40, 'now Barabbas was a robber'). It makes the impression of the importance of a fact stronger, as in xiii. 30, *ἦν δὲ νύξ* ('and it was night'). It gives sharpness to the expression, as in viii. 34, 35, *πᾶσ ὁ ποιῶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν δοῦλόσ ἐστιν τῆσ ἁμαρτίασ. ὁ δὲ δοῦλοσ οὐ μένει ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ εἰσ τὸν αἰῶνα· ὁ δὲ υἱὸσ μένει εἰσ τὸν αἰῶνα* ('whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin. And the servant abideth not in the house for ever: but the Son abideth ever'). Use in conversation, it gives vehemence and force, as in xvi. 4, 5, *λέγει αὐτοῖσ· τίνα ζητεῖτε ; ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ· Ἰησ τὸν Ναζωραῖον. λέγει αὐτοῖσ· ἐγώ εἰμι* ('He said unto th Whom seek ye? They answered Him, Jesus of Nazare Jesus saith unto them, I am He'). Or it is the expression great inward emotion, as in xi. 34, 35, *καὶ εἶπεν· ποῦ τεθείκ αὐτόν ; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· ἔρχου καὶ ἴδε. ἐδάκρυσεν ὁ Ἰησ*

and said, Where have ye laid him? They said unto Him, ome and see. Jesus wept'). It must also, in many cases, e called the utterance of a full heart. Thus in the conver- ation with the Samaritan woman, as she, half foreboding, half uestioning, says that the Messiah will come and tell all hings, we hear suddenly the words, *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ λαλῶν σοι* iv. 26, 'I that speak unto thee am He'). Such passages emind us of the well-known Homeric[1] *Εἶμ' Ὀδυσεὺς Λαερτιάδης* ('I am Ulysses, the son of Lærtes'), which Ulysses uses to reveal himself to Alcinous, after he had been praised while unknown to the singer. In cases like these the speaker presses forward the chief thing at once, so as to say the whole, the essential, and the new thing all together. Hence these sentences are somewhat startling. We find a similar character in vi. 34, 35. They ask, *Κύριε πάντοτε δὸς ἡμῖν τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον* ('Lord, evermore give us this bread'); and the answer follows, *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς* ('I am the bread of life'). Again, Martha weeps, that she knows very well that her brother will rise at the last day. Jesus replies, *ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ζωή* (xi. 25, 'I am the esurrection and the life'). Everybody can easily find many xamples of this kind.

There are only two further ways of using such short entences that we must mention here, namely, at the begin- ing and at the end of discourses. In the former case they are like the themes put before the development that follows. Thus in viii. 12, *ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου* ('I am the ight of the world'); vi. 35, *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς* ('I am he bread of life'); ix. 5, *ὅταν ἐν κόσμῳ ὦ, φῶς εἰμι τοῦ κόσμου* ('as long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world'). After these follow the discussions. In the same manner, in he tenth chapter, Jesus puts like headings in front of the arious parables,—ver. 7, *ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ θύρα*; ver. 11, *ἐγώ εἰμι ποιμὴν ὁ καλός* ('I am the Good Shepherd'). See xv. 1, *ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἄμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή* ('I am the true vine'), xiii. 31, . 1, xvi. 1, xvii. 1. In the latter case, the discourse closes h a short sentence. This sentence, as a rule, presents the bated point very keenly, and adds something to it by a w factor. By this means it becomes to a certain extent a

[1] Homer, *Odyssea*, ix. 20.

challenge. We see this especially in the disputes with the Jews, x. 30, *ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἕν ἐσμεν* ('I and my Father are one'); compare ver. 31, *ἐβάστασαν πάλιν λίθους οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι* ('the Jews took up stones again'); viii. 58, *πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι ἐγώ εἰμι* ('before Abraham was, I am'), compare the effect in ver. 59; vi. 51, *καὶ ὁ ἄρτος δὲ ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω . . ἡ σάρξ μου ἐστίν* ('the bread that I will give is my flesh'); compare ver. 52; vi. 58, *ὁ τρώγων τοῦτον τὸν ἄρτον κτλ.* ('he that eateth this bread,' etc.). Look especially at the contest in the eighth chapter,—for example, vers. 38, 41, *ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν* ('ye do the deeds of your father'), 47, and 56. The conversation usually joins on to the challenge thus thrown out, and hence arises a peculiar method of uniting sentences, to which we shall refer later.

Thus we perceive that a kind of sentence prevails in our gospel which most nearly recalls, and which is related to, the Hebrew way of writing. It bears in its great simplicity the stamp of great calmness, but conceals power and determination beneath this outward quiet. This tells us of a man brought up on the holy language of Israel, who has acquired the quiet calmness and the moderation of ripe age. At the same time, he who becomes more closely acquainted with him finds in him a strong mind, a full heart, and an emotional soul, and can easily discover the vehement fire of youth, which if touched and excited by God through some mighty event will easily burst through the calm peace and the even composure.

(4.) *Simplicity of Union of Sentences.*

The simplicity of the union of sentences corresponds to the simplicity of their construction. Sentence ranges on sentence with the most artless plainness. Winer,[1] speaking of the Hebræo-Aramaic colouring of the New Testament diction, calls attention to the following as the way in which this colouring shows itself most distinctly, namely, 'in the simplicity, and even monotony, with which the Hebrew (agreeably

[1] Winer, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*, sec. 3, 7th ed. Leipzig 1867, pp. 31, 32.

a co-ordinating rather than a subordinating principle) constructs periods, and links clause to clause. Hence the sparing use of conjunctions in Jewish-Greek (in which respect the classic authors display so copious a variety); hence the uniformity in the use of tenses; hence the absence of periodic combination of several subordinate clauses into a single sentence.' This is the case with John in the highest degree. The lack of writing in periods (periodological writing) is one of the first observations as to the language that a reader of John's gospel will make. We find also that he co-ordinates grammatically sentences whose logical relation is one of subordination. The beginning offers a striking example: i. 10, *ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν, καὶ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ κόσμος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγνω* ('He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not'). Look also at ii. 9, *ὡς δὲ ἐγεύσατο ὁ ἀρχιτρίκλινος . . . καὶ οὐκ ἤδει πόθεν ἐστιν, οἱ δὲ διάκονοι ἤδεισαν . . . φωνεῖ τὸν νυμφίον ὁ ἀρχιτρίκλινος* ('when the ruler of the feast had tasted . . . and knew not whence it was, but the servants . . . knew, the governor of the feast called the bridegroom'), iii. 19, viii. 13, xvii. 25, *πάτερ δίκαιε, καὶ ὁ κόσμος σε οὐκ ἔγνω, ἐγὼ δέ κτλ.* ('O righteous Father, the world hath not known Thee, but I,' etc.) Thus there are rarely great periods in our evangelist. If at any time he constructs or tries to construct one, it becomes unwieldy, as appears in the well-known vi. 22 ff. This latter period is especially worthy of remark. For even within the limits of the single period, we can see the inclination of the writer to arrange the separate parts by co-ordination, and to connect the clauses with each other grammatically in the most scanty way, although logically they stand in most various, yes, almost in artistic relations to each other.

Intermediate Sentences.

This looseness, then, in the construction of periods is the reason for the fact that various subordinate sentences, instead of fitting into the structure, are thrust in as intermediate sentences in the progress of the relation. This occurs in the example above, vi. 23, *ἄλλα δὲ ἦλθεν πλοιάρια* ('howbeit there came other boats'). Such intermediate sentences are

exceedingly numerous in the fourth gospel. The short notes of time or place are of this character, as i. 40, *ὥρα ἦν ὡς δεκάτη* (English version, i. 39, 'it was about the tenth hour') i. 45, *ἦν δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος ἀπὸ κτλ.* (i. 44, 'now Philip was of,' etc.); iv. 6, *ὥρα ἦν ὡσ ἕκτη* ('it was about the sixth hour'); v. 9, *ἦν δὲ σάββατον* ('and on the same day was the Sabbath'), vi. 4, ix. 14, x. 22, xviii. 28, xix. 14. Such also are the notes of names, iii. 1, xviii. 10; or in general, closer definitions, v. 2, vi. 10, *ἦν δὲ χόρτος πολύς* ('now there was much grass'); xi. 5, *ἠγάπα δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν Μάρθαν* ('now Jesus loved Martha'), xviii. 5, 10, 18. There are five of these short intermediate sentences in the eighteenth chapter. It gives the recital the appearance of ease and carelessness. Hence it is only peculiar to the narrative parts. In the discourses the language is more connected. Explanatory sentences occur, however, in the latter, which permit of comparison with the by-remarks, save that they are rather a token of the subjective character of the gospel. To these must be referred the explanations of obscure sayings of Jesus, ii. 21, *ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔλεγεν περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ* ('but He spake of the temple of His body'); vii. 39, *τοῦτο δὲ εἶπεν περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος* ('but this He spake of the Spirit'); viii. 27, xi. 13, xii. 16, 33, xxi. 19; the explanations of Hebrew words, i. 39, 42, 43 (English version, i. 39, 41, 42), iv. 25, v. 2, ix. 7, xix. 13, 17, xx. 16; the practical remarks, why Jesus, or anybody else, said this or that, vi. 6, *τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγεν πειράζων αὐτόν* ('and this He said to prove him'), viii. 6, ix. 22, xii. 6, *εἶπεν δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ ὅτι περὶ τῶν πτωχῶν ἔμελεν αὐτῷ κτλ.* ('this he said, not that he cared for the poor'), xii. 41; and the repeated assurances that Jesus knew this or that, as, for example, the treason of Judas, vi. 64, *ᾔδει γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Ἰησοῦς κτλ.* ('for Jesus knew from the beginning,' etc.), ii. 24, 25, vi. 6.

It has already been remarked that the sentences are loosely connected with each other. Hence it is that *καί* ('and') and *δέ* ('now, but') occur so often. Look at ii. 12–16, *μετὰ τοῦτο κατέβη . . . καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμειναν. καὶ ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ πάσχα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, καὶ ἀνέβη . . . ὁ Ἰησοῦς. καὶ εὗρεν . . . καὶ ποιήσας . . . πάντας ἐξέβαλεν καὶ ἐξέχεεν . . . καὶ . . . εἶπεν* ('after this He went down, . . . and they continued there, . . . And the

ws' passover was at hand, and Jesus went up, . . . and found . and when He had made . . . He drove them all out, . . . nd poured out, . . . and said'), iii. 1, 2, 22 f., 35 f., etc. It s clear from this that the use of the conjunctions must be very limited. Besides *καί* and δέ, the historical narrative has particular liking for *ὡσ* ('when'), as in iv. 1, *ὡσ οὖν ἔγνω ὁ Ἰησοῦσ* ('when, therefore, Jesus knew'); and in the discourses we often come upon the words of comparison, *καθὼσ—οὕτωσ* ('as—so'), and similar words. Look at iii. 14, v. 19, 21, 23, 26, 30, vi. 31, 58, vii. 38, viii. 28, x. 15, xii. 36, 50, xiii. 15, 34, xiv. 31, xv. 4, 9, 10, 12, xvii. 2, 11, 14, 16, 18, 21, 22, 23, xx. 21. We have given above the reason for this frequent use of the particles of comparison. It is the spirit of analogy which breathes through the whole gospel, because it attaches to the subject presented therein. This is quite evident if we review in addition to these comparisons those which are expressed merely by the bringing together of two sentences or ideas, or are only contained in the thought. I have noted in all nearly sixty such analogies. The very circumstance that the seventeenth chapter contains so many examples of these is a proof of the fact stated. We therefore have found here again, that the evangelist's language is ruled by the subject, in the phase in which it disclosed itself to him.

Ἵνα.

The case is the same with the frequent use of *ἵνα* ('that') or *οὗτοσ . . . ἵνα* ('this . . . that'). Look at xiii. 34, *ἐντολὴν καινὴν . . . ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλουσ* ('a new commandment . . . that ye love one another'); xv. 12, *αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἐντολὴ ἡ ἐμή, ἵνα κτλ.* ('this is my commandment, that,' etc.); xv. 8, *ἐν τούτῳ ἐδοξάσθη ὁ πατήρ μου, ἵνα κτλ.* ('herein is my Father glorified, that,' etc.); xv. 13, xvii. 3, *αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ αἰώνιοσ ζωή, ἵνα γινώσκωσιν σέ* ('and this is life eternal, that they might know Thee'), vi. 29, xi. 50, xv. 17, xvi. 7, 33, and xvii. 13, 23, 24. A teleological character pervades the whole gospel. The history is laid dramatically so as to press towards the end by an internal necessity. The case is the same with the subject-matter itself. As we saw above, the last is in the st, the whole lies in the parts, and for this very reason all

is development of one thing from another, a necessary progress of one towards another, an aiming of one at another. One demands the other because it must desire itself, its own contents, in their realization. From this we can easily see the sense of *ἵνα*. In the language of that day it was already weakened in meaning. Nevertheless it is not meant to express a mere following. It gives the relation of aiming at, whether that be a specially designed or an essential, and hence internally necessary, relation. To speak of 'Jewish teleology' in connection with this, is to confound the terms Hebraic and Biblical.[1]

The third frequent way of joining sentences is the hypothetical with *εἰ, ἐάν* ('if'), *εἰ μή* ('unless'). Look at xiii. 14, 17, 32, 35, xiv. 7, 14, 15, 28, xv. 7, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, xvi. 7. There is no need of especial proof of the fact that the essential reason for the use of these particles also lies in the subject. The conditional relation of the revelation of God in Christ to human behaviour here comes to view.

These are the three most frequent syntactical constructions.

Asyndeton.

It is true that the evangelist often leaves out all connection, and writes asyndetically. See i. 26, 41–43. This is a favourite way in conversations, ii. 4, 5, 7, iv. 49, 50, vi. 47–51, *ὁ πιστεύων εἰσ ἐμὲ ἔχει . . . ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος τῆσ ζωῆσ. οἱ πατέρεσ ὑμῶν ἔφαγον . . . οὗτόσ ἐστιν ὁ ἄρτοσ . . . ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτοσ ὁ ζῶν* . . . ('he that believeth on me hath . . . I am that bread of life. Your fathers did eat . . . this is the bread . . . I am the living bread'). In the fifteenth chapter twenty verses follow each other without any conjunctions; even the usual *καί* or *δέ* ('and') is wanting. On the other hand, the sixteenth chapter is rich in particles, because it does not merely wish to make statements, but turns to the disciples with a certain intimate tone. As soon, however, as the discourse passes again to declarations, as in vers. 12–16, it becomes

[1] Winer, *Grammatik des N. T. Sprachidioms*, sec. 53. 6, 7th ed., Leipzig 1867, p. 428. [It is clear enough that Hebraic and Biblical are essentially the same in a literary light when we look back to the time of Saint John.—C. R. G.]

asyndetic; while in 19–23, being again direct and intimate, it is again united by conjunctions.

It lies in the nature of things that asyndeton occurs more frequently in the epistles than in the historical books of the New Testament.[1] Hence there must be a definite reason for the fact that it is used much more extensively in the fourth gospel than in the others. The reason is not simply that there are more discourses in this gospel than in the others. Asyndeton lays the thoughts and sentences utterly bare, side by side, without especial note of their mutual relation. It is partly a sign of the plain statement of what is to be reported, and partly the product of a deep perception of the mutual relation of the matters in question. It desires that others obtain this same perception in its native purity. In this respect it may serve the purpose of emphasis and emphatic repetition, or of fundamental statement, or of conclusion, or of contrast. The last preponderates in the fourth gospel.

(5.) *Contrasts.*

It is peculiar to John's style to advance by contrasts. The things he presents, the thoughts he utters, move in contrast. His language does the same.

At the beginning of the gospel, the Baptist and Jesus are set one over against the other. Look at i. 8, 26, *ἐγὼ βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι· μέσος ὑμῶν στήκει* ('I baptize with water; but there standeth one among you'), iii. 28–31. In general, this contrast runs through the first three chapters. Jesus and the Jews are also put in outspoken opposition. Look at ii. 23, 24, *πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν . . . αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς . . .* ('many believed . . . but Jesus' . . .); v. 33, 34, *ὑμεῖς ἀπεστάλκατε . . . ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου τὴν μαρτυρίαν λαμβάνω* ('ye sent . . . But I receive not testimony from men'); viii. 15, *ὑμεῖς κατὰ τὴν σάρκα κρίνετε, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ κρίνω οὐδένα* ('ye judge after the flesh; I judge no man'). The debates progress almost exclusively by this contrast. Look at the whole of the eighth chapter. But the thoughts themselves advance in many ways by contrasts. See i. 17, *ὁ νόμος διὰ Μωϋσέως*

[1] See Winer, *Grammatik des N. T. Sprachidioms*, sec. 60. 2, 7th ed., Leipzig 1867, p. 501 f.

ἐδόθη κτλ. ('the law was given by Moses,' etc.); iii. 6, τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τῆσ σαρκόσ κτλ. ('that which is born of the flesh,' etc.); iii. 12, εἰ τὰ ἐπίγεια εἶπον . . . πῶσ ἐὰν εἴπω ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια ('if I have told you earthly things . . . how . . . if I tell you of heavenly things?'); iii. 20, 21, ὁ φαῦλα πράσσων . . . ὁ δὲ ποιῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ('one that doeth evil . . . But he that doeth truth' . . .); iii. 36, ὁ πιστεύων . . . ὁ ἀπειθῶν τῷ υἱῷ ('he that believeth . . . he that believeth not the Son'), iv. 13, 14, 22, and v. 17, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 29, 30. This is the ruling method for the union and progress of the thoughts.

It lies in the nature of the thing, that this obtains more in the discourses than in the remaining parts. But in the discourses it is all one whether we have before us the keen debate of the eighth chapter, or the intercessory prayer of that heart most rich in love, in the seventeenth chapter. In the latter, the thoughts move forward in pure contrasts. The Father and the Son, the Son and His own, His own and the world; these contrasts return in every verse. Even here, too, where the action and the thought have raised themselves to the greatest calmness and unity, the whole expression of feeling is still ruled and decided by the tone of contrast. Nothing took deeper hold on the soul of the evangelist than the impression of those many-sided contrasts. These, on the one hand, as in the case of Father, Son, and disciples, are raised to the most intimate unity, whence that seventeenth chapter closes with the thought and the words of unity in diversity. On the other hand, as the deep-cutting opposition of God and world, love and hate, Christ and the Jews, they decide the whole life of the Redeemer, and at last bring in that decisive catastrophe, in which both the opposing principles, the love as well as the hate, rise to and reveal themselves in their highest form. The writer must himself have learned and experienced these contrasts in all their sharpness, his feelings are still so thoroughly ruled by them and by the memory of them. He must have been by nature peculiarly susceptible to this impression. For we see not simply that the contrast of above and beneath forms the base and point of departure of the writer's whole theory of life; but besides that the keenest contrast forms the foundation or the background for that lofty calm and that peace which are thoroughly his own

Contrasts Asyndetic.

As to outward form, the contrast is by preference asyndetical. See above. Compare i. 17, *ὁ νόμοσ . . . ἡ χάρισ καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια* ('the law . . . grace and truth'); i. 18, *Θεὸν οὐδεὶσ ἑώρακεν πώποτε· ὁ μονογενὴσ υἱόσ* ('no man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son'); iii. 31, *ὁ ἄνωθεν ἐρχόμενοσ . . . ὁ ὢν ἐκ τῆσ γῆσ . . . ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐρχόμενοσ* ('He that cometh from above . . . he that is of the earth . . . He that cometh from heaven'); iii. 32, 33, *τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶσ λαμβάνει. ὁ λαβὼν* ('no man receiveth His testimony. He that hath received' . . .); iv. 22, *ὑμεῖσ προσκυνεῖτε ὃ οὐκ οἴδατε, ἡμεῖσ προσκυνοῦμεν ὃ οἴδαμεν* ('ye worship ye know not what: we know what we worship'); v. 23, *ἵνα πάντεσ τιμῶσι . . . ὁ μὴ τιμῶν . . .* ('that all men should honour . . . he that honoureth not' . . .); vi. 58, *οὐ καθὼσ ἔφαγον οἱ πατέρεσ . . . ὁ τρώγων τοῦτον τὸν ἄρτον . . .* ('not as your fathers did eat . . . he that eateth of this bread' . . .); viii. 15, 23, *ὑμεισ ἐκ τῶν κάτω ἐστέ, ἐγὼ ἐκ τῶν ἄνω εἰμί· ὑμεῖσ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἐστέ, ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου* ('ye are from beneath; I am from above: ye are of this world; I am not of this world'); viii. 35, *ὁ δὲ δοῦλοσ . . . ὁ υἱὸσ . . .* ('and the servant . . . the Son' . . .); and viii. 46. Such a bare way of opposing the contrasted things to each other, is meant to give them greater sharpness. This may be seen by comparing the tenth chapter and the closing discourses of Jesus, especially the seventeenth chapter. For, although the way of thinking by contrast is also quite at home in the latter, still the asyndetical form occurs very seldom. In the latter, the memory of the contrast, or perhaps better, of the difference, rules; while in the former the contrast is immediately present.

Καί in Contrasts.

The contrasting expression receives a peculiar colouring by the use of *καί* ('and'). The very semblance of indifference that lies in *καί* makes the contrast the more impressive, and sometimes really startling. In the asyndetical form, the speaker puts the contrast designedly in all keenness; he

shows a certain strength of susceptibility by it; he is related actively to the contrast. Here, on the contrary, he bears a more passive relation to it; he shows how he has to suffer the contrast; the pained feeling and the complaint of the soul rule. See iii. 11, ὃ οἴδαμεν λαλοῦμεν . . . καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἡμῶν οὐ λαμβάνετε ('we speak that we do know . . . and ye receive not our witness'); iii. 32, ὃ ἑώρακεν καὶ ἤκουσεν μαρτυρεῖ, καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς λαμβάνει ('what He hath seen and heard, that He testifieth; and no man receiveth His testimony'); vi. 70, οὐκ ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς τοὺς δώδεκα ἐξελεξάμην; καὶ ἐξ ὑμῶν εἷς διάβολός ἐστιν ('have not I chosen you twelve? and one of you is a devil'); vii. 19, οὐ Μωϋσῆς δέδωκεν, ὑμῖν τὸν νόμον; καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐξ ὑμῶν ποιεῖ τὸν νόμον ('did not Moses give you the law? and yet none of you keepeth the law'); viii. 38, 49, x. 25, where the comparison with ver. 26 shows clearly the passage from the suffering feeling to the decided resolution; xiii. 33, xiv. 30, xvii. 11, 14.

Along with this observed liking for contrasted thought and presentation, we find, in the fourth gospel, the practice of uttering the same thought negatively and positively, so as thus by help of the antithesis to throw light on the different sides and relations, or on the meaning of an object. Naturally, the negation as a rule precedes. See i. 8, 13, οἳ οὐκ ἐξ αἱμάτων οὐδὲ . . . οὐδὲ . . . ἀλλ' ἐκ Θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν ('which were born, not of blood, nor of . . . nor of . . . but of God'); iii. 15, 16, ἵνα πᾶς . . . μὴ ἀπόληται ἀλλ' ἔχῃ ζωὴν αἰώνιον ('that whosoever . . . should not perish, but have eternal life'); iii. 17, οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἵνα κρίνῃ τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' ἵνα σωθῇ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ ('for God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world through him might be saved'); iii. 36, οὐκ ὄψεται ζωήν, ἀλλ' ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ μένει ἐπ' αὐτόν ('shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him'); iv. 14, οὐ μὴ διψήσει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὕδωρ . . . ('shall never thirst but the water' . . .); v. 19, 24, vi. 27, 39, 53, 54, vii. 10, 24, viii. 12, ix. 31, x. 1, 5, xi. 54, xii. 47, xvi. 7, 25, 32, xx. 27. Not seldom, however, the negative statement is put after the positive one. This often occurs with special emphasis. See i. 3, πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ . .

('all things were made by Him, and without Him' . . .); i. 20, *ὡμολόγησεν καὶ οὐκ ἠρνήσατο* ('he confessed, and denied not'); i. 48, iii. 18, v. 23, vii. 18, *ἀληθής ἐστιν, καὶ ἀδικία ἐν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστιν* ('is true, and no unrighteousness is in him'); viii. 29, x. 28, *δίδωμι αὐτοῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀπόλωνται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* ('I give unto them eternal life; and they shall never perish'); xi. 25, 26, xii. 48, xiv. 6, 23, 24, and xvi. 29. This frequent use of antithesis shows how vivid the perception of contrast is in the evangelist.

(6.) *Parallelism.*

The examples we have thus far had, lead us directly over to the Hebraizing form of parallelism. Its free use by John has been observed from the earliest times.

The nearest to the preceding examples is that kind of parallelism in which the two members contrast with each other. The passages that belong here have almost all been noted above. See i. 17, iii. 6, 30, 31, 36, v. 17, xv. 15, 19, and xvi. 17, 19. In other cases, identical or nearly related ideas are brought together in the parallel phrases. Such are more after the Hebrew manner than those just given. See iii. 11, *ὃ οἴδαμεν λαλοῦμεν καὶ ὃ ἑωράκαμεν μαρτυροῦμεν* ('we speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen'); v. 37, *οὔτε φωνὴν αὐτοῦ πώποτε ἀκηκόατε, οὔτε εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἑωράκατε* ('ye have neither heard His voice at any time, nor seen His shape'); vi. 35, 55, 56, xii. 44, 45, xiii. 16, xv. 20, and xvi. 20, 28. A rhythmic movement rules in many of these examples. See i. 17, iii. 11, v. 37, and vi. 35. At times the parallelism recedes, and the rhythmical movement gives character to the sentence. See v. 19, vi. 40, 44, 53, 54, *ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα . . . καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα . . . ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον, . . . καὶ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ* ('whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day'); vi. 55, 56, xiv. 27, *εἰρήνην ἀφίημι ὑμῖν, εἰρήνην τὴν ἐμὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν . . . μὴ ταρασσέσθω ὑμῶν ἡ καρδία μηδὲ δειλιάτω* ('peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you. . . . Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid').

Whether parallelism or rhythm prevails in the language,

either one is the sign of an elevated mood. And this runs through the whole gospel. It must be the memory of something great that moves the soul of the writer, and elevates it at times to an almost stately tone. But in so far as the language is determined by the feelings, the design of the writer cannot lie outside of the matter itself, in a special polemical or pacific tendency or the like. It is a full heart laying down its impassioned testimony to a great fact and a great thought. The very opening of the gospel is a full-sounding hymn with an altogether Old Testament impress. Nor does the evangelist leave this lofty mood in the course of the relation. Thus the language at i. 14 again unmistakably rises to the hymn-like. See also xiii. 31, 32, xiv. 27.

(7.) *Chain-like Connection of Sentences.*

If, now, we ask what the ruling figure for the connection of sentences is within these laws of periodology and sequence, the chain-like connection meets us directly at the entrance of the gospel in a thoroughly striking example. Almost every new sentence begins with the word which closed the one before. This would be still more decidedly so, if *οὐδὲ ἕν* ('not anything') could be separated by a period from *ὃ γέγονεν* ('that was made'). The first five verses appear like a closely linked chain. Of course, the connection elsewhere is not so strict as it is here; still it approaches this. Thus the two phrases of the sentence are joined in i. 40 by *ἔρχεσθαι* ('to come') and *ἰδεῖν* ('to see') (English version, i. 39); in ii. 23, 24, by *πιστεύειν* ('to believe'); in ii. 25–iii. 1, by *ἄνθρωποσ* ('man'); in vii. 17, 18, by *ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ λαλεῖν* ('to speak of himself'); in vii. 28, 29, by *οἶδα* ('know'); in ix. 34, 35, by *ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔζω* ('they cast Him out'); and in xiii. 30, 31, by *ἐξῆλθεν* ('he went out'). The sentences in i. 46–52 move forward by such sequences. See i. 46, 47, *τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ . . . ἐκ Ναξαρὲτ δύναταί τι ἀγαθὸν εἶναι* (English version, 45, 46, 'of Nazareth. . . . Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?'); 47, 48, *ἔρχου καὶ ἴδε. εἶδεν Ἰησοῦσ* (46, 47, 'Come and see. Jesus saw' . . .); and 51, 52, *μείζω τούτων ὄψῃ . . . ὄψεσθε τὸν οὐρανὸν* . . . (50, 51, . . . 'thou shalt see greater things than these, . . . ye shall see heaven' . . .). So

too, the sentences viii. 38–44 are again and again joined by *πατήρ* ('father'). Or see x. 11, *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός. ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς* . . . ('I am the Good Shepherd: the Good Shepherd' . . .); xiii. 20, *ὁ λαμβάνων . . . ἐμὲ λαμβάνει, ὁ δὲ ἐμὲ λαμβάνων* . . . ('he that receiveth . . . receiveth me, and he that receiveth me' . . .); xvii. 2, 3, *δώσῃ . . . ζωὴν αἰώνιον. αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ αἰώνιος ζωή* ('He should give eternal life . . . And this is life eternal'); and xvii. 9, 11, 12.

We do not mean to say that this figure in itself is exclusively peculiar to John; but in such frequency it is certainly characteristic of his style. The dialogue form of the debates is related to this. For, as a rule, the closing thought, or the closing word, serves as the point of starting for the reply. See in viii. 38–44 how speech and reply are linked to each other by *πατήρ* ('father'). Look also at viii. 13, 14, 18, 19.

Omission of Minor Points.

It has before this often been remarked concerning our evangelist, that the logical middle conceptions are often wanting in his series of thoughts, and must be supplied. The reason for this is not that he presses so impatiently forward, but that the evangelist wishes to bring in only thoughts of the first magnitude. Consider the last discourses of Jesus. Every sentence is a stroke and a full chord. While this sounds on in the soul of the hearer, the subordinate, transitional tones can form themselves from it, and thus, in the pause, mediate between the preceding and the following chord. With the language the case is different. It tries to join more closely in form things which in thought stand more independently beside each other. This it does by always letting a tone of the preceding chord stand as an outward transition. From this phenomenon, in my opinion, two things are to be concluded. In the first place, the writer does not appear to have grown up in and been educated by means of the Greek language, which is so rich and perfect in transitions; but rather in and by another, whose thought rests more on the chief ideas alone which are laid on one another like the stones of a corner. The beginning of Genesis

shows how in the Hebrew language each following sentence is joined to the preceding by the use of a word from it. The first verses of Genesis, and, indeed, the whole first chapter, are as closely bound together and related to each other as even the Greek language could make them, with all her particles and other refinements of construction. Look especially at Gen. i. 27. The Johannean style seems to me to be altogether like this. In the second place, this manner of writing is connected with still another thing. In the first chapter of Genesis only the great and actually new creating deeds of God are related. So, in John, a soul seems to betray itself which is so filled and moved by the deepest and greatest thoughts and feelings, that the describing hand cannot possibly stop at subordinate things. Moreover, the former are to the writer so intimately fitted to each other, that they do not seem to him to need an expressed mediation. Still, as he is writing for others, he gives at least an outward hint of the existing inward connection, or as it were a sign of it.

This knit style comes out most decidedly in the last discourses of Jesus. We might say that the whole of the seventeenth chapter proceeds in this way. Almost every thought is in some way turned about so as to start anew with it. It seems as if the speaker could not leave it so quickly, but must let himself be led by it to the new matter. The discourse turns hither and hither, always reaching back before it goes forward.

Circular Motion.

In this way another peculiarity of John's style is formed,—namely, the motion in a circle. Not a few of the passages in the fourth gospel excite a sensation in us of such motion; some less; others, as the concluding discourses, more. It is almost as if we were led around in a circle, and did not leave the one spot,—at any rate, only very slowly. He who comes to this book in a state of restlessness, even though it be critical, will soon grow impatient. It will gradually become tedious to him in those very passages in which this peculiarity has unfolded itself most beautifully. Only he who bears himself calmly, devotedly, and passively towards the book, will find

wealth in the seeming repetitions, and a manifold progress in the apparently retrograde motion. Let us consider the seventeenth chapter. Vers. 1–5 form the first greater circle, the fifth verse returning to the thought of the first verse, but with an essential enrichment. This circle again encloses in itself several smaller circular windings. The second and fourth verses reach back, yet each time only to open the future again to the eye. Then the sixth verse begins anew. Thus in repeated circles the discourse goes into the future and returns again, until it reposes in the thought of the fullest unity. Likewise in the fifteenth chapter, vers. 1–4 make the first circle. *Ἐὰν μὴ μένῃ ἐν τῇ ἀμπέλῳ* ('except it abide in the vine') returns clearly to the beginning, only with the enriching that the progress of the discourse has brought to the first thought. Then the fifth verse starts afresh with the opening words of the first verse, only increased by the new matter produced by the first circle of thought, and with which the second, third, and fourth verses began. In the eighth verse the discourse goes back to the fifth. Thereupon, with a somewhat different turn, the ninth verse takes up the contents of the first and fifth verses together, by joining the three members, Father, Son, and disciples, which in ver. 1 and ver. 5 are kept apart. This circle closes in ver. 12; in *ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους* ('love one another') we have the new point, and in *καθὼς ἠγάπησα ὑμᾶς* ('as I have loved you') the reference to the former thought. The thirteenth verse joins itself again to this last, in order with the seventeenth verse to return once more to the *ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους* of the twelfth. The contrasted point given directly in this phrase begins the new circle in ver. 18.

In this way the discourse advances in windings, always taking up the preceding point, and always adding and bringing forth a new one. Look further at viii. 38–44, x. 7–18, and xiv. 10 ff., 20 ff.

With a certain swiftness the evangelist covers with his pen a complete and extensive field. But then, as if standing still after hurrying forward so, he delays in calm consideration, wrapped up in what he has said. He begins to draw his circle once more, but urges the line forward somewhat. It is as if he feared to do wrong to the wealth of the object he is

reporting about, if he did not repeatedly return to it, unfolding and presenting its manifold sides. Such carefulness is best explained by the fact that, with all freedom in the form of expression and presentation, the writer is held bound by faithfulness to the thing which he is giving. And thus this prudent exactness of the circular motion may have become in general the ruling one in his thinking and writing, and like a second nature to him, so that he preferred to move in it.

If the preceding inquiries and considerations are not altogether at fault, they have led us pre-eminently to the knowledge of one fact,—namely, that to a very high degree the language of the gospel is determined by the matter which it presents. Viewing the most various peculiarities in the materials of the language as well as in the forming and connecting of sentences, we believe that we must seek the reason for them in the subject of the gospel. At this we cannot fail to observe two things: That the character of the language is determined, on the one hand, by the language in which the writer was at home by birth; and, on the other hand, by his subjectivity, which, however, is of course again determined by the matter itself. It remains for us to consider these two points briefly.

4. The Hebraic Character of the Language.

(1.) *The Common Dialect.*

The language in which the evangelist writes belongs, like the whole New Testament, to the *κοινὴ γλῶσσα τῶν Ἑλλήνων* ('the common tongue of the Greeks'). According to Hug's researches,[1] this was widely spread by the Grecian colonies, especially in Galilee, and that not only in the higher ranks, but also, by intercourse and trade, even among the lower people. Hence the disciples must be considered as by birth speakers of two languages. The incident in Paul's life, in Acts xxi. 40, proves that the mass of the people understood

[1] Hug, *Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 4th ed., Stuttgart and Tübingen 1847, part ii. pp. 27–49. See also Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, ii. pp. 598–601, 694–701; and Stark, *Gaza und die philistäische Küste*, pp. 448–459.

Greek. If we may follow Thiersch,[1] the Septuagint and its designed Hebraizing was the source and model for religious presentations. This is the case, especially for the historical and prophetical style, whence the New Testament books of this kind Hebraize more strongly than the didactical books, for which no corresponding model was given in the Old Testament. In the latter, the Christian mind could move more freely and rule more creatively. In the former, it was bound by the speech fixed for such subjects. The introductory sentence of St. Luke's gospel certainly shows irrefutably that the Hebrew colouring is to be traced to the subject, and not so much to the individuality of the writer, as its determining cause. Thiersch is perfectly right when he says, that of the two kinds of relation, the historical could free itself from the Old Testament model much more easily than the prophetical.[2] In so far, then, as a historical book does not repeat that which is already more or less fixed by sacred tradition, but that which is individual, and the product of most peculiar memory and contemplation, like John's gospel, just so far also will a more properly Greek language be found in it. Hence the difference that obtains in this regard between the first three gospels and the fourth must not surprise us. As little will the difference between the gospel and the Revelation trouble us. It can no more be said that the language of each excludes that of the other, than that there is a progress from the confined speech of the gospel to the free, arbitrary use of the same in the Revelation; or the reverse, that the gospel shows greater correctness and purity in its Greek, gained by longer residence among Greeks. The difference lies in the subject, and in the thoroughly different psychological frame of the writer.

Leusden.

Hence we find in proportion but few actual Hebraisms in the fourth gospel. In Leusden's collection of the New

[1] Thiersch, *Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpunkts für die Kritik der N. T. Schriften*, Erlangen 1845. See the first chapter, and especially p. 57.

[2] Thiersch, *ut supra*, p. 60.

Testament Hebraisms,[1] almost the fewest of all touch John's gospel, and many of these are not rightly so called. It is more than clumsy when the following are called Hebraisms: that *οὐρανός*, iii. 27 ('heaven'), should mean 'God;'[2] *ποτήριον* ('cup'), xviii. 11, 'the sad fate;'[3] *κόσμος* ('world'), iii. 16, 'men,' xii. 19 and xv. 18, 'the Jews;'[4] *εἰρήνη* ('peace'), xx. 19, 'the complete salvation;'[5] *πίνειν* ('to drink'), xviii. 11, 'to endure;'[6] *φιλεῖν* ('to love'), xii. 25, 'to prefer;'[7] and *ζητεῖν* ('to seek'), v. 18, 'to wish;'[8] that *πέραν* ('beyond'), i. 28, means 'this side;'[9] that *καί* ('and') stands for all possible conjunctions and participles;[10] that *ὄνομα* ('name') is superfluous;[11] that *υἱός* ('son') is superfluous in the designation of Jesus, as *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* ('Son of man');[12] that *υἱός*, in connections like xvii. 12, means 'worthy;'[13] and that *θυγατήρ*, xii. 15, denotes 'the inhabitants of the city.'[14] So for all like Hebraisms. Still there certainly are a few.

Thus it has already been remarked by several, that the Hebraizing *ἴδε* or *ἰδού* ('behold') occurs frequently. See i. 29, 36, 47 (Eng. version, 46), iii. 26, iv. 35, v. 14, vii. 26, 52, xi. 3, 36, xvi. 29, 32, xviii. 21, xix. 4, 5, 14, 26, 27, and xx. 27. Further, the often repeated *ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν* or *σοί* ('verily, verily, I say unto you' or 'thee') may well recall to us the prophetic introduction of the words of Jehovah in the Old Testament, i. 52 (Eng. version, 51), iii. 3, 5, 11, v. 19, 24, 25, vi. 26, 32, 53, viii. 34, 51, 58, x. 1, 7, xii. 24, xiii. 16, 20, 21, 38, xiv. 12, xvi. 20, 23. One thing may be added. This formula of assurance, peculiar to John's gospel,[15] occurs only with Jesus. On the other hand, it does not occur even with the Baptist. In conversations of a more intimate character, as in the fourth chapter, it recedes according to the nature of the thing; see iv. 21, *πίστευέ μοι γύναι* ('woman, believe me'). Such is the case also in the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters,

[1] Leusden, *De dialectis Novi Testamenti* singulatim de ejus hebraismis, ed. Fischer, 1792.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 36. [3] *Ibid.* p. 42. [4] *Ibid.* p. 51. [5] *Ibid.* p. 42.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 64. [7] *Ibid.* p. 55. [8] *Ibid.* p. 69. [9] *Ibid.* p. 77.
[10] *Ibid.* p. 76. [11] *Ibid.* p. 86. [12] *Ibid.* p. 85. [13] *Ibid.* p. 102.
[14] *Ibid.* p. 103.

[15] See Delitzsch, *Talmudische Studien IX. Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, 1856, 3tes Heft.

as at xvi. 7, *ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τὴν ἀλήθειαν λέγω ὑμῖν* ('nevertheless I tell you the truth'); and it does not return before the second half of the sixteenth chapter, in which the tone of assurance again presses more forward.

Many other single points are given by Leusden. The following are among them: the union of *υἱόσ* ('son') with a general idea, which is supposed to be a reality, and thought to determine what is characteristic of the single person, as in *υἱὸσ τῆσ ἀπωλείασ* ('the son of perdition'), xvii. 12; compare Hos. x. 9 and Deut. xiii. 13 (Hebrew, 14); the ellipse of *τὶσ* ('a certain one'), vi. 39, vii. 40, xvi. 17, and i. 24, if *οἱ* is not read, as in the Hebrew construction, with מִן (from); the union of a verb with the noun of the same root, as *χαρᾷ χαίρει* (rejoices with joy, 'rejoices greatly'), compare Gen. xx. 17 and Isa. vi. 9, although a similar thing occurs in Greek, yet in the New Testament it springs from the Hebrew; and the combinations with *εἰσ τὸν αἰῶνα* ('for ever'), iv. 14, x. 28, xi. 26, xiii. 8, or *ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνοσ* ('since the world began').

Ebrard.

Ebrard cites a list of Hebraisms,[1] but they must undergo a few limitations. For, in the first place, *οὐ μή* ('by no means'), with the future indicative, x. 5, as pure negation, is pure Greek.[2] The case that Ebrard adduces for the use of *ἵνα* ('that') with the indicative, xv. 16, would pass only if the reading *δώσει* ('he will give') were certain. The nominative with the article instead of the vocative (viii. 10), xix. 3, xx. 28 (xiii. 13 has no right to stand among these examples, because the nominative is merely of naming and not of addressing), is as much Greek as Hebrew.[3] What Krüger says of the combination of the nominative with the imperative, namely, that there is a *σύ* ('thou') or *ὑμεῖσ* ('ye') in the latter, fits xix. 3 exactly. In other places the evangelist uses the vocative freely enough, as in i. 39 (compare i. 50, iii. 2, iv. 26), ii. 4, and iv. 11, 15, 19,

[1] Ebrard, *Das Evangelium Johannis und die neueste Hypothese über seine Entstehung*, Zürich 1845, p. 143 ff.

[2] See Krüger, *Griechische Sprachlehre für Schulen*, 3d ed., Berlin 1852, p. 331, note 6.

[3] See Winer, *Grammatik des N. T. Sprachidioms*, sec. 29. 2, 7th ed., Leipzig 1867, p. 172; and Krüger, *ut supra*, p. 219 f.

21, 49. The four passages, iv. 21, v. 25, xvi. 25, and xvi. 32, in which ἔρχεται ('cometh'), in the form ἔρχεται ὥρα ὅτε ('the hour cometh when'), is said to stand for ἔσται ('shall be'), are all to be stricken out. It is to be translated by 'cometh,' and has the same force and certainty as this.[1] The apposition determined by Ebrard[2] in xii. 3, λίτραν μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς καὶ (thus Ebrard) πολυτίμου ('a pound of ointment of spikenard, very costly'), in my opinion, does not hold good. The use of ἐκ ('from') in partition, instead of a plain partitive genitive,[3] is certainly rather Hebrew than Greek: i. 35, vi. 8, 70, 71, vii. 40, 44, 48, 50, ix. 16, xii. 4, xvi. 17; see also above. In iii. 25, ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν Ἰωάννου ('some of John's disciples'), ἐκ is to be taken quite precisely. As for xii. 3, ἐκ τῆς ὀσμῆς ('with the odour'), we may refer to what Krüger says[4] about the passage of the local into the causal use. The repetition of the possessive pronoun, ii. 12, belongs to Old Testament circumstantiality.[5] In reference to the use of ἐν ('in') to designate the instrument,[6] analogous to the Hebrew ב in cases like βαπτίζειν ἐν ὕδατι, i. 26, 33, Winer has already called attention to the fact that ἐν does not entirely lose its meaning here. In xvi. 30 and ix. 30, to both of which cases Ebrard also refers, ἐν τούτῳ ('herein') is not directly instrumental. Against the alleged Hebraic exchange[7] of ἐν and εἰς ('in'), iii. 35, v. 4, we need only refer to Winer. The 'un-Greek-like nominative' of apposition in i. 14, πλήρης ('full'),[8] is readily explained. The evangelist, for fear of misunderstanding, did not wish to put the genitive, and as little the accusative, so that nothing but the nominative was left for him. Moreover, with this the apposition can at the same time come out with greater independence. The use of a noun and verb of the same ety-

[1] See Winer, *Grammatik des N. T. Sprachidioms*, sec. 40. 2, 7th ed., Leipzig 1867, pp. 249, 250; and Krüger, *Griechische Sprachlehre*, 3d ed., Berlin 1852, p. 372.

[2] Ebrard, *Das Evangelium Johannis*, Zürich 1845, p. 147. Compare Winer, *ut supra*, sec. 16. 3, p. 92, sec. 59. 3, p. 489; and Walch, *sub voce* νάρδος.

[3] Ebrard, *ut supra*, p. 148.

[4] Krüger, *ut supra*, p. 526.

[5] Ebrard, *ut supra*, p. 148.

[6] Ebrard, *ut supra*, p. 150. Compare Winer, *ut supra*, sec. 31. 3, p. 204.

[7] Ebrard, *ut supra*, p. 151. Compare Krüger, *ut supra*, p. 522, note 2, on ἐν with verbs of motion.

[8] Ebrard, *ut supra*, p. 155.

mology[1] has been mentioned above. The frequently used historical present[2] can hardly be intended to be taken as a Hebraism. The 'prophetic present' in iii. 18, *οὐ κρίνεται*[3] ('is not condemned'), is explained amply by the fact that the *κρίσις* ('judgment') is already begun. The 'prophetic aorist,' xv. 6, *ἐὰν μή τις μένῃ ἐν ἐμοί, ἐβλήθη ἔξω*[4] ('if a man abide not in me, he is cast forth'), is common to all languages, and, besides, serves to express in a vivid manner that which is to begin instantly. The perfect in xvi. 11 and v. 24 is not like a future,[5] but is used exactly. It is a question whether xv. 16 is to be read *ἵνα . . . δώσει*[6] ('that he shall give') or not. Besides, it is well known that the use of the future indicative after *ὅπως* ('that'), and in later times also after *ἵνα* ('that'), was not entirely unknown in other Greek.[7] Certainly *ἵνα* extended its use very widely in the later Greek. Again, xiii. 34 is not a proof of great stiffness.[8] It is used here with entire propriety. In the formula, xii. 23 (xiv. 2), *ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα ἵνα* ('the hour is come that'), the teleological character of John's way of writing history appears. This we spoke of above. The double negation,[9] especially in cases like xix. 41, which Ebrard quotes, *οὐδέπω οὐδείς* ('never man yet'), is commonly known to occur often in Greek, and is in certain instances the rule. So the union of a singular verb with several personal subjects, even though one of these be a plural, is in common use. Cases analogous to i. 46, ii. 2, iii. 22, can be found all over in Greek.[10] Is the combination *παιδάριον, ὃς ἔχει* ('lad . . ., which hath')[11] a Hebraism? Or is the omission of the copula, iii. 1, iv. 24, a Hebraism?[12] The phrase, xiii. 26, *ᾧ ἐγὼ βάψω τὸ ψωμίον καὶ δώσω αὐτῷ*[13] ('to whom I shall give a sop, when I have dipped it'), cannot properly be designated as a Hebraizing repetition of the demonstrative after the relative, since *αὐτῷ* belongs only to

[1] Ebrard, *ut supra*, p. 157. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* p. 158.
[4] *Ibid.* Compare Winer, *ut supra*, sec. 40. 5*b*, p. 260.
[5] Ebrard, *ut supra*, p. 158. [6] *Ibid.*
[7] See Winer, *Grammatik des N. T. Sprachidioms*, sec. 41. 1*b*, 7th edition, Leipzig 1867, p. 269 f.
[8] Ebrard, *ut supra*, p. 159.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 160; see Krüger, *Griechische Sprachlehre*, 3d edition, Berlin 1852, p. 514 f.
[10] Compare the examples in Krüger, *ut supra*, p. 480. 4.
[11] Ebrard, *ut supra*, p. 161. [12] *Ibid.* p. 162. [13] *Ibid.*

δώσω, not to βάψω; and δώσω, after John's manner, has freed itself from the relative combination; compare vi. 40. As for καί ('and') in opposition, 'instead of δέ,' as Ebrard says,[1] we spoke of it above. To this belong especially such cases as i. 11, ix. 30, 34. Others, like iv. 20, are only cases of more convenient speech, such as occur in general in the common way of talking. Aside from this, the frequent use of καί ('and') certainly is connected with the Old Testament method of relation. The placing the verb before the subject[2] has already been treated of. Let us turn to Ebrard's further citations in proof of the Hebrew character of the language; i. 12 ff. has no business here, so far as I can see. Certainly, however, the preference for a paratactical way of writing instead of a periodological construction of sentences, which has been already discussed, is rightly mentioned. To this attach the cases quoted, i. 32 (not so much iii. 1 and i. 6), iv. 12, vi. 58. The sentence, vii. 38, ὁ πιστεύων . . . ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥεύσουσιν ('he that believeth . . . out of his belly shall flow rivers'), is especially characteristic for its Hebrew form. That is about all that belongs here. We have at present nothing to do with the rest of Ebrard's most thankworthy researches as to language, and as to subject-matter concerning the relation between the Revelation, Mark, and the gospel of John.

Thus the Hebraisms of our gospel have not been much increased by Ebrard's examples. We may here neglect single unimportant well-known Hebraisms, like εἷς ('one') for πρῶτος ('first'), and the use of σπέρμα ('seed') and ἐγερθῆναι [קוּם, 'arise']. On the whole, the number of separate Hebraisms is not large. The Hebrew character of the language of the fourth gospel, however, does not lie in these external things. It is internal. A Hebrew soul lives in the speech of the evangelist.

Ebrard[3] judges that one reading the fourth gospel cannot avoid the impression that everything in it was thought out in Hebrew. Reuss[4] speaks of the 'Hebrew form of thought;' and Kern[5] says, 'The language preserves the original union of the Palestinic-Jewish element with the Greek element. The

[1] Ebrard, *ut supra*, p. 162. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* pp. 143, 163.
[4] Reuss, *Ideen zur Einleitung in das Evangelium Johannis*, 1840, p. 55.
[5] Kern, *Tübinger Zeitschrift*, 1838, 2 Heft, p. 47.

form of expression, and in general the whole method of presentation, agree with the genuine Greek training and disposition, but the original training from Palestine still always shows through.' Ewald says, with even more decision,[1] 'that the Greek language of the author bears in itself the plainest and strongest marks of a genuine Hebrew. He is one born among Jews in the Holy Land, one who grew up to manhood in this society, without speaking Greek. Under the Greek mantle that he at a late date learned to throw about himself, he still bears in himself the whole mind and spirit of his mother-tongue, and does not hesitate to let himself be led by it.' We must try to prove this.

(2.) *The Symbolical and Allegorical Character of the Language.*

We have already referred to the circumstantial method of relation, to the Hebrew introduction and citation of what is said, and to the Old Testament-like parallelism and rhythm in the language of the more elevated passages, as well as to many other Hebrew peculiarities of the style. The symbolical allegorical character of the language leads us deeper. Let us first recall how abundantly the language deals with the senses. This declares itself in the well-known use of the verbs ἑλκύειν ('to draw'), ἥκειν ('to come'), ἀκολουθεῖν ('to follow'), μένειν ('to remain'), διψᾶν ('to thirst'), τῆς φωνῆς ἀκούειν ('to hear one's voice'). Still more important is the rich imagery of the speech, when it chooses bread, water, light, darkness, etc., to express spiritual good things and circumstances. It is not mere comparison, but the spiritual is the true and the real. What is earthly is only a type. The name belongs truly and exactly to what is spiritual. The earthly thing corresponds to the name only inexactly and in an incomplete manner. Thus everything in the life of nature and everything in the historical life of Jesus becomes a figurative speech regarding spiritual, true, and heavenly things, proceed-

[1] Ewald, *Die Johanneischen Schriften*, Göttingen 1861, vol. i. p. 44 f. Similarly, Credner, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Halle 1836, vol. i. p. 209; Grau, *Entwicklungsgeschichte des N. T. Schriftthums*, 1871, vol. ii. p. 433; Godet, *Commentar zum Evangelium Johannis*, Hanover 1869, p. 638 f.; and Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 116, and elsewhere.

ings, and relations. All becomes a σημεῖον ('sign'). This it is because the evangelist beholds all, earthly and heavenly, spiritual and earthly, in a great unity. The fact that he shows this in such a way, tells us that he must have had a mind rich in images and fancies. Nevertheless, we find especially here that spirit of moderation, of self-limitation, and of prudence, that pervades the gospel in general. We feel that he could and would have written differently if he had dared to let his own proper nature rule without bounds. But in spite of all limitation, the habit of his mind does not disown itself. In the very things in which people commonly found difficulties, as if arbitrary and trifling, as, for example, in the meaning of Siloah, the writer's characteristics show most plainly. This must be noticed in the exegesis of the gospel.

His figurative mind fed upon and drew its material from the Old Testament, from the prophets of the Old Testament. At the foundation of their figurative language lies the history of Israel, the wonderful and essential facts of the revelation of Jehovah, and before all, the deliverance from Egypt and God's leading them in the desert. In the real metaphorical language of prophecy, this reappears everywhere, lifted from the realm of outward sensible history into the generality of the idea,—that is, into the reality of the spirit. We find it on the same wise in the fourth gospel. Here are found in their truth the manna with which God miraculously fed His people, the water from the rock with which He gave them to drink, the light of the pillar of fire that preceded them, and the glory of Jehovah that appeared in fire upon Sinai and unto Moses.

(3.) *John's Gospel and Isaiah* xl. ff.

Let us look at the gospel more carefully. It begins with a reminder of the opening of the Old Testament. For even though ὁ λόγος ('the Word') could not without further ceremony be considered as one with the creating word of God, we are still carried back to those original facts of creation, to the way in which God's creating word wrought life, and divided light from darkness.[1] Those cosmical facts

[1] See Hölemann, *De Evangelii Joannei Introitu Introitus Geneseos Augustiore Effigie.* Lipsiae 1855.

appear as a prefiguration of what is in Christ and is given with him. We perceive how that which has come to pass historically in the fulness of time, was already devised at the beginning of time, and is the right fulfilling and the truth of the plan then made. But the historical appearance of Christ was the revelation of the δόξα τοῦ Θεοῦ ('glory of God'). Therefore that divine glory which was revealed on Old Testament ground, has here entered history concretely in its fulness and truth. Above all, we are reminded of that incident in the life of Moses, Ex. xxxiii., which was considered the highest revelation of the glory of God. That which there was an individual, temporary, incomplete, and therefore prophetic proof of grace, is here present as general, lasting, full, and fulfilled grace. Christ appeared to redeem His own; John appeared to announce and prepare for this redemption. This points us to the beginning of the second part of Isaiah. On the basis of the first redemption from Egypt, Isaiah portrays the second redemption. John gives historical testimony to this divine deed, in agreement with the prophet. There is a striking agreement between the fourth gospel and the second part of Isaiah.

Each tells of a revelation of the glory of Jehovah: John, end of chap. i. and ii. 12; Isa. xl. 5. But the Redeemer is no other than the Creator. John starts with that, and that is the thought at the base of the first section in Isa. xl.–xlviii. The following parallels will serve to show the likeness of the two in their manifold pictures of the redeeming activity of the newly revealed God: like a shepherd He gathers, feeds, and carries His lambs, Isa. xl. 11, John x.; He opens fountains of water in the desert, Isa. xli. 18, and satisfies the thirsty with water and with his spirit, Isa. xliv. 3, xlviii. 21, xlix. 10, lv. 1, John iv. 13, 14, vi. 35, especially vii. 37, ἐάν τις διψᾷ, ἐρχέσθω καὶ πινέτω ('if any man thirst, let him come . . . and drink'), which words agree almost entirely with Isa. lv. 1; He supplies the hungry, Isa. xlix. 10, John vi. 35; He will lead in the right way, xlii. 16, xlviii. 17, xl. 11, John xiv. 6; He will be a light and will open the eyes of the blind, Jehovah's servant will be the light of the world, Isa. xlii. 7, xlix. 6, 9, lx. 1, John viii. 12, τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου ('the light of the world'), ix. 1 ff.; Jehovah's servant will free the prisoners,

Isa. xlix. 9, John viii. 36; Jehovah teaches him and opens his ear, Isa. l. 4, 5, John v. 30, and often; His own shall not be afraid, Isa. xli. 10, li. 7, John xiv. 1; for Jehovah is their comforter, Isa. li. 12, John xiv. 16; who brings them peace, but others judgment, Isa. lii. 7, lvii. 19, xlviii. 22, lvii. 12, John xiv. 27, xvi. 11, xii. 31, and often; the Lord comes for comfort, for peace, and for judgment; this thought runs through the whole, as may be seen by the end of each of the three sections, Isa. xlviii. 22, lvii. 21, lxvi. 24; the salvation revealed is as universally important as it is new, Isa. xliii. 19, xlv. 22, xlix. 12, 20–22, lvi. 7, 8, lx. 3, 5, John iv. 21, x. 16; for although He is the God who revealed Himself ages ago in Israel, He is still the God of the world, Isa. xli. 27, xlv. 19, lxvi. 1, John iv. 21–24; on the ground of His creative relation, He becomes the Redeemer of the whole world, Isa. liv. 5; and so man is saved, not as an Israelite, nor on account of outward observation of the Old Testament commands, Isa. lviii. 3 ff., but from pure grace, Isa. xliii. 3, 25, liv. 8, John xv. 16, and on the ground of a correct religious relation to God, Isa. lviii. 6 ff., lxvi. 2, John viii. 47, iii. 21; and the right covenant will be when God gives His Spirit and Word in the heart, Isa. lix. 21, John viii. 31, xiv. 26, xv. 3, xvi. 13. There is not the slightest need of proving that the figure of the bread of life in the sixth chapter is deeply rooted in the Old Testament. It looks back to the feeding with manna, and occurs at the time of the passover, which was rightly fulfilled in the passover of the New Testament. Jesus, like Jehovah in the Old Testament, here is seen causing life; and in general, what there and in Isaiah is said of the enlivening, redeeming, and judging activity of Jehovah, is here without hesitation ascribed directly to Jesus; so also what is there said of the servant of Jehovah; and finally, we shall see at the proper place that ὁ λόγος ('the Word') is only to be explained in connection with the Old Testament.

In brief: the whole realm of the figures and thoughts of John's gospel is rooted in the Old Testament, and has grown up out of the prophecies of the Old Testament. These prophecies in the peculiarities and externals of the Old Testament past and present showed forth the universal and the spiritual reality, but as a thing to come. The evangelist relates and

teaches this as now having entered upon historical realization. His gospel, however, relates only the beginning of this realization, and the Old Testament prophecy contains matter above and beyond this. John beheld, as no other did, the inward fulness and spiritual endlessness of the evangelical history. Must not he above all others have cherished a longing to see its close fulfilled? This close could not but be a fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy to him, to whom the beginning of the end was simply the truth of the Old Testament. He who, when he took the trouble to write in Greek for Greeks, could not disown the Hebrew sources of his thought and the Hebrew soul of his language, must write this fulfilment in the language of the Old Testament prophecy.

5. The Individual Mental Peculiarities of the Language.

(1.) *This Gospel is Subjective.*

Among the four gospels, the fourth is unquestionably the most subjective, and has the greatest individual peculiarities. In the first three, matter and speech are traditionally fixed. In the fourth, the personality of the writer comes far more to sight. His personality appears in the subject-matter in two ways. He relates, not the recollections of the church, but his own, just as what he lived through impressed itself on him, and as he had carried it thus far in his heart. And then, though he never will come out with his name, he all the time puts in his own remarks along with the history, reflecting, explaining, reaching forwards, or pointing backwards. Of course his personality shows in speech too; that follows from the other. It is altogether different from the language of the first three. We are throughout led to seek the sources of its peculiarity in the individual conception of the subject, and in the individual mental determination of the writer. Hence the Christian heart takes much less interest in the persons of the first three evangelists. John, on the other hand, is the most loved of all New Testament authors; and that not simply because he was the disciple loved by Jesus, but for the sake of his gospel, for the sake of this book of his, which is so thoroughly his individual production. If we

seek to grasp the mental peculiarity of the writer in his language, there is nothing essentially new to add. We have but to combine what the consideration of the language has already given us.

(2.) *Calmness and Enthusiasm.*

Every reader feels the calmness and the serenity which spread over this book. It tells us of a soul that has reached peace, of the serenity of an aged man, and on very reading puts us in the rest, the quiet, and the tranquillity of peace. He likes to dwell upon a great thought; he turns it this way and that, and sinks his soul in it. He ever leads us back to the same thoughts, and gladly repeats them to us, so as to send them deep into the soul, and make them stay there. He always leads separate thoughts back to the great and the whole, and at the end always returns to the first thought.

This calmness of delaying contemplation, and this passive, peaceful tranquillity, is, however, not nature; it is command of the mind. For we can still discover in him the fiery, violent character of the youth. If the hasty glow of earlier days is no longer there, still a reminder of it is always at hand. We can see his natural character in his short decisive sentences, his emphatic way of building sentences, the want of connection in his array of sentences, and in the use of contrasts in his speech. His nature is not destroyed. It is purified, brightened, raised to the truth, and so taken into the service of the loved Master. It came to rest on the bosom of Jesus, and found peace as His own. Before that, many a flaming emotion, many a sudden rage, and many a longing wish must have moved it violently. The fire of youth has left its calm light and its warm enthusiasm. It breathes through the most quiet speech, and raises the language to the rhythmical beauty of Hebrew poetry, and to a very hymn of praise. Rest is spread over it, for it lives in recollection and contemplation. It has not, however, become incapable of more violent emotion. It would be infallibly excited as soon as his mind, seized by force, should be raised to a sight of new and great facts from the divine warfare, which he, veiled from the outward history, beheld in the life of Jesus.

(3.) *Unity of Conception.*

As just remarked, he always leads single thoughts up to the great and the whole, for the turn of his mind is always towards a united view. The whole world has become a unity to him in the Word made flesh. He beholds all things at once in Christ. And he lets that one and the same picture of Christ appear to us always and everywhere. He ever presents the one divine personality of Christ, so that it shall make on us the one right impression which he intends. All the great general ideas, which for him contain all that is single, and all the fulness of the spiritual and eternal, of which earthly things are incomplete copies—all are to him united and combined in the Word made flesh. This unity he sought and found in Christ. Therefore he reposes in Him and in His love. He refers all separate things to Him, and measures all according to their standing in relation to Him. Hence his striving for unity is to trace all to the last essential sources, and judge by them; in the single thing he must always see its principle. This leads him with all keenness to cut the whole world into two great halves, into two hostile camps. He knows no mediating between the two. To him Christ brings all under the absolute point of view. An array of essential contrasts runs through the whole gospel: Christ and Satan, light and darkness, life and death, children of God and children of the devil, and the like. In the antagonism of the life of Christ, he sees the absolute antagonism of the chief spiritual powers. He hints at their unseen strife, battled in the visible contest between Jesus and the Jews; look at xiv. 30, xii. 31, xiii. 27. For he knows of invisible realities behind all that is visible. All that is external is to him but the phenomenon of something spiritual which is present. But here he becomes aware of an absolute discord. He depicts for us in the gospel history first of all the outward particulars. This he does in such a way that we can recognise the spiritual contents, the revelation of what is heavenly, and the divine and Satanic relations. Should the future history of the kingdom of God be shown to him, his mind's eye would so behold it, that it would be to him the strife between the two world-ruling powers, Christ and Satan. It would have to be shown

to him in the form of a great history, which, proceeding in the spirit realm, thence should work decisively upon the earth and the visible history of men. For the invisible has been disclosed to him in the life of Jesus, and he has received the deepest impression of that contrariety. He traces everything back to it. All that he writes tells of a consciousness that it is irreconcilable. But he knows that he himself is in peace, in life, in light, in Christ. That is his ruling mood. He closes his gospel with this feeling, and a deep peace is spread over the whole book by the strife and the victory of Christ.

III.

THE NARRATION.

OUR gospel at first seems to offer itself as historical, and yet again it appears to exceed the limits of a merely historical account. Some hold it to be the surest historical account of the life of Jesus. Others declare it to be unhistorical, with an utterly unimportant historical foundation,—unhistorical in the very design of its author, the unfolding of an idea clothed in the form of a made, for the most part an invented, history. Thus they really turn it into a Christian romance. Both appeal to the peculiarities of the narration, in which the author presents the at least apparently historical contents of his gospel. Therefore we must consider and portray this historical narration with reference to that debated question. Our course is laid out for us by the debate as well as by the subject itself, so that we have first to look at the historical character of the narrative, and then see how this of itself points beyond the limits of mere historical narration. The material will be most easily handled if we consider,—first, the separate features; second, the portrayal of single persons; third, the development of the history; fourth, the discourses and dialogues; and fifth, the relation which the history bears to the doctrine.

1. The Historical Features.

(1.) *The Loved Disciple.*

One thing has always been thought significant. The disciples of Jesus, when they are introduced separately, speaking or acting, or when they are in any other way mentioned, are almost always named, as in i. 41–50 (English version, 40–49), vi. 5, 7, 8, 68, xi. 16, xii. 4, 21, 22, xiii. 2, 6 ff.,

24, 26, 36 f., xiv. 5, 8 f., 22, xviii. 2, 10 f., 15 ff., xx. 2 ff., 24 ff. One of them, however, is often mentioned with the seemingly indefinite designation ὃν ἠγάπα or ἐφίλει ὁ Ἰησοῦς ('whom Jesus loved'), xiii. 23, xix. 26, xx. 2 ff. (xxi. 7, 20). This is only explicable on the supposition that it passed with the writer for a sufficiently clear designation of the person he intended by it. And this would be still more significant if, at xviii. 15, the article ought to be read before ἄλλος μαθητής ('other disciple'). But ℵ A B and D oppose this.

We may well infer from i. 35 ff. that he was one of the first who joined themselves to Jesus. For it has always been considered as most probable that the one who is not named in the whole gospel is also to be understood in the one here unnamed. The fourth evangelist knows the whole twelve as well as the first three evangelists do, vi. 13, 70, xx. 24. He names Andrew, Simon Peter, Philip, Nathanael, Thomas Didymus, Judas, and the Iscariot. The choice among the rest must lie between the two sons of Zebedee. Judging by the intimate position in which the unnamed one stands to Jesus, a position to be inferred both from the designation in general and from the statements in xiii. 23 and xix. 26, we can only look for him among those three who are pointed out by the synoptists as the more intimate disciples of Jesus. Peter is named in connection with the unnamed one, xiii. 23 ff., xx. 2 ff. James died so early that he could not have written the gospel. John alone is left. It has always been believed that the suppressing of the name is a sign that the author of the gospel wished to pass for that unnamed disciple. It at least agrees therewith, that in this case he mentions neither his brother nor his mother Salome, where she could very well have been named. Moreover, he mentions himself only with great reserve.

Suppose, however, that the author meant to designate another person and not himself by this description. Suppose that he wished to distinguish John thus, for it could be no one else. Then, on the one hand, there must have been traces of the fact that a disciple, that John, used to be called by this circumlocution instead of by his name. This, however, is not the case, since all later designations of this kind spring clearly enough from our gospel. And on the other hand, he would have had to introduce him to us with this distinguishing

paraphrase at an earlier period in the history, and not wait till the last supper, xiii. 23.

Matthew names himself without hesitation, ix. 9. The reason John does not name himself, lies in the different character of his gospel. Matthew's gospel is objective. He gives a selection from, and combination of, the historical material according to a certain fundamental thought, and leaves it as far as possible in its objective form. Aside from this, he limits himself to pointing out here and there, by preference at the end of separate sections, the fulfilling of the word and history of Old Testament prophecy in the history of Jesus. Hence he could name himself unhesitatingly. His person disappears entirely in the object, which he reproduces just as it presented itself to him. The case of the fourth evangelist is different. His subjectivity comes out in a host of explanatory remarks, in references to the past or to the future, and in reflections. He shows much more clearly, too, that his book is a selection made with a particular design from a much richer material, a selection which, in comparison with the synoptists, contains proportionally less of what is externally historical. With regard to his design, he confesses himself that he did not intend to tell what met the eye in Jesus. He aimed rather alone at what belief discerned when it gave itself up to the person of Jesus, and did not withstand the impression that person wished to make. It was, in short, what he, in belief on the Son of God, beheld in Jesus, i. 14. What he relates is wrought together to a unity from beginning to end, and this must have made his gospel seem and feel to him to be his own work in an entirely different way from what could be the case with Matthew. Therefore, in so far as he was himself conscious of the subjective character of his gospel, he must have felt inwardly compelled to keep his own name in the background.

Keim,[1] following Weisse, declares that the phrase by which the writer designates himself is 'a piece of most disgusting self-praise, the moral condemnation of a vain apostle.' It is nothing of the kind. Nor is it a mere circumlocution or distinction. It is the expression of a most blessed memory. We should, however, think it unnatural if the 'I' of the

[1] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 158.

writer were entirely wanting. We expect it, and we find it at the beginning and at the end. For when we read in xx. 30, 31, *ἃ οὐκ ἔστιν γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ. ταῦτα δὲ γέγραπται, ἵνα πιστεύσητε* ('which are not written in this book: but these are written, that ye might believe'), the 'I' and 'my' of the author are no less clearly spoken than the 'ye' of the reader. And when, in i. 14, he begins the praise of the glory of the revealed Son of God with *ἐθεασάμεθα* ('we beheld'), he permits us to see himself with equal clearness as the one giving testimony, and as an eye-witness.[1] Had it suited him, he could have begun his gospel as the first of the epistles that bear his name opens. Special attention has already been called to one fact.[2] The other persons of like names are always clearly distinguished by their surnames. It is so with the two named Judas, xii. 4, xiii. 26, xiv. 22. Thomas has his surname, xi. 16, xx. 24, xxi. 2; and Simon Peter is plainly distinguished from Simon Zelotes. But John the Baptist only bears the name *ὁ βαπτίστης* ('the Baptist') once. To this might be added, that in xii. 21 Philip is more closely designated as *ὁ ἀπὸ Βηθσαϊδὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας* ('which was of Bethsaida of Galilee'). This is so striking a description, that we cannot but think that the evangelist meant thereby to mark him as one well known to his readers, or wished to prevent confusion. And if we remember that a Philip lived and died at Hierapolis,[3] that closer definition of John's is clear enough, whether that Philip at Hierapolis was the apostle or the deacon and later evangelist; see Acts xxi. 9. The gospel then offers itself as the book of an eye-witness, and most probably of John. The reason for the withholding of the name lies in the subjective character of the book, which is too strong to permit the author to speak of himself as a stranger, and yet not strong enough for him to speak directly in the first person. If all this be true, the expectation grows on us that

[1] See Ebrard, *Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte*, 3d ed., Frankfort-on-the-Main 1868, pp. 1068 f., 1128 f. See also the commentary below.

[2] Bleek, *Beiträge zur Evangelien Kritik*, Berlin 1846, p. 77. See commentary on this passage below; also Ebrard, *ut supra*, pp. 1068, 1069; and Credner, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, Halle 1836, p. 210.

[3] Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. xxxi. 2, V. xxiv. 1; *Opera*, ed. Dindorf, Leipzig 1871, vol. iv. pp. 122 f., 230.

we have a historical book before us, which still, on the other hand, is not a mere historical account. It remains to be seen whether further observations will agree with this.

(2.) *The Various Historical Notes.*

The expectation that the account before us is historical because it is from an eye-witness, finds its first confirmation in the various historical notes interwoven with the book, and that in such a way that they seem to have offered themselves to the writer altogether unsought. At the outset the book gives the impression that the whole life of Jesus in its order of time must have stood clearly before the eyes of the evangelist. Nothing is left so indefinite that it could be transferred to another time, or that it must be taken before something else. Each point follows the order of time, just as each is externally put after the other. The μετὰ ταῦτα ('after this'), in the most varied forms of the expression, rules the whole gospel. And even when the parts of the discourse at viii. 12 and 21 are introduced by the indefinite formula εἶπεν οὖν πάλιν αὐτοῖς ('then said Jesus again unto them'), or the like, they are still enclosed by the frame of the feast at which this was spoken. As is well known, this exactness descends to the statement of the day, i. 29, 35, 44 (English version, 43), ii. 1, iv. 43, 52, vi. 22, vii. 14, 37, xi. 6, 17, xii. 1, 12, xiii. 1; and of the time of day or the hour, i. 40 (English version, 39), iii. 2, iv. 6, vi. 16, xiii. 30, xviii. 28, xix. 14, xx. 19. Our author is no less clear as to the places in which we are to fancy the separate occurrences for ourselves. There is no occurrence and no discourse that we could not tell from the evangelist's statement where to place it. It is unnecessary to give the proof passages.[1]

We willingly concede to Strauss that the evangelist 'flattered himself that he wrote chronologically.' The fact that, at v. 1, he mentions a feast without naming it, cannot put us out. The introduction by μετὰ ταῦτα ('after this') shows that it is in general to be taken chronologically. His not naming it shows that it was of no importance to him to

[1] See the table in Ebrard, *Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte*, 3d ed., Frankfort-on-the-Main 1868, p. 173 f.

say which it was. It was only to tell us that Jesus, who as we know wished to 'fulfil all righteousness' as a Jew, did not go to Jerusalem without being prompted to the journey by a feast. John wishes all the emphasis to rest on this, and so does not name the feast. In the other case, he would have drawn the stress from ἑορτή ('feast') to the name, the very thing he did not wish to do.

We may infer from this that our evangelist does not give prominence to particular dates without design, however readily the specifications of time and place surrender themselves to him of their own accord. The separate notes that he weaves in have their importance for the subject, just as there was a design in his choice of the general chronological order.

He begins and ends his account with a week. The order of the single days in the first week corresponds to the order and progress of the action. The statement of the hour, i. 40, ὥρα ἦν ὡσ δεκάτη (English version, 39, 'it was about the tenth hour'), is not too unimportant to deserve mention. It is the decisive hour in the life of the evangelist.[1] Every day brings its progress until the first revelation of the glory of Jesus at Cana.

The next statement of time is at ii. 12, that Jesus remained at Capernaum οὐ πολλὰσ ἡμέρασ ('not many days'). This is not intended simply to distinguish this stay at Capernaum from the later settled one that the synoptists tell us of. It means to call attention to the fact that the mission of Jesus now demanded that he make Judæa and Jerusalem, not Galilee, the scene of his activity. Hence he did not for the present dwell at Capernaum, but used the approaching passover to open, by a public act of self-witness as the Son of God, the whole series of these self-attestations in word and deed. Therefore, too, it is expressly mentioned that he with his disciples still made up a family with mother and brethren. He will not begin his public activity before the passover, or outside of Jerusalem, for he is also to close it at the passover and in Jerusalem.

[1] Ebrard, *ut supra*, p. 338 f. This statement is not to be explained according to the use of the Roman civil courts; the Roman reckoning is not found in our gospel. Ebrard thinks otherwise. See Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, article 'Tag,' Leipzig 1848, vol. ii. p. 560 f.

It seems to me that iii. 24 is a like case. It tells us that John had not yet been cast into prison. This remark, as Lampe and Baumgarten-Crusius note, intends to recall the fact that all related in the second and third chapters took place before the imprisonment of the Baptist, and thus to put the chronology of the fourth gospel into relation and unison with the synoptic account. By referring to the circumstance that it is still the time of the Baptist, and that that time has not yet expired, it purposes much more decidedly to state that Jesus, now coming forth publicly in Judæa, joined himself to the form of the Baptist. At the same time, the notice serves to present the continuing activity of the Baptist as the divine will, and to make a foundation for his answer which aims at the same point, iii. 27–36. The statement of the place where John baptized is to be understood as in contrast with Jesus. They must go to the Baptist at his place, from which he proclaimed the nearness of the kingdom of heaven: Jesus brought the kingdom of heaven nigh.

The account of the journey of Jesus through Samaria should especially make us sensible that all came to pass, not as sought by Jesus, but as divinely ordained and directed. His route of itself led him through this land, iv. 4, ἔδει δὲ αὐτὸν διέρχεσθαι ('and he must needs go through').[1] The place, therefore, in which, and the unusual time at which, he met the woman, are both significant. After what was remarked above, we may take it as settled that iv. 6, ὥρα ἦν ὡσ ἕκτη, means mid-day. That certainly was an unusual time for drawing water, as Baumgarten-Crusius says. But, in connection with this very circumstance, Jesus perceives that the woman was sent to him by the Father. The item that Jesus only stayed there two days, iv. 40, belongs to the contrast with Judæa, which rules this section in general. It took only that little, short time to awaken belief here.[2] The counting, iv. 54, is like this. It was only the second wonder that Jesus wrought in Galilee, while he had wrought so many in Jerusalem. That is to say, Galilee was then by no means put even on a level with

[1] Lampe, *Commentarius Evangelii secundum Joannem*, Amsterdam 1724, vol. i. p. 705, 'quasi per accidens tantum' ('as if only by chance').

[2] *Ibid.* p. 796.

Judæa, and yet he found in the former much greater readiness to believe than in the latter.

The evangelist hints at the later activity of Jesus in Galilee, partly in vi. 1 and partly in vii. 1. In the former passage, *ἀπῆλθεν* is naturally to be referred, not to Jerusalem, but to the shore on this side of the sea—that is, to Capernaum. He does not make this Galilean work the object of his account. He wishes to show how Jesus came into strife with the Jews, although He at once certified Himself sufficiently to them as the Son of God; and how Galilee had no advantage over Judæa in this matter. In order to prove this, he chooses a story from the Galilean ministry which fits the context exactly. The note of the fact that the passover was at hand, vi. 4, is hardly intended to explain how so many men could come to Jesus. This is too little remarked elsewhere. Moreover, the people seem mostly to belong to Capernaum and the surrounding places, vi. 22 ff. Otherwise, how could it be said of them, *ἑώρων τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίει* ('they saw the miracles which he did'), an imperfect in each case, in the sense, therefore, of something continuing. In reality, this note of the time stands in inward connection with the occurrences related of this passover season. The people wish to make Jesus a king. But the soul of Jesus is ruled by the thought of his death, and he looks forth to the next year's passover. At that time, the people will welcome him in Jerusalem as king, and then nail him to the cross. It is the time of the crisis in the life and work of Jesus.

The mention of the feasts after this, purposes constantly to remind us that Jesus only went to Jerusalem at this call of religion. Once there, he naturally did not leave himself without testimony, yet it was not given as if he wished to provoke the conflict. It is clear enough, without further remark, that vii. 14, *ἤδη δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς μεσούσης* ('now about the midst of the feast'), serves this design especially. The last day of the feast, vii. 37, is named for the sake of Jesus' words. He sent the words of his offer into the most unmixed festal joy. He glorifies the greatest day of the feast by his great promise.

The note at x. 22 is likewise no idle one. The expression shows that it intends something different from the other feast statements. We cannot think it by chance and undesigned,

that instead of a ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ('feast of the Jews'), or the like, as we elsewhere read, the account says simply, ἐγένετο δὲ τὰ ἐνκαίνια ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ('and it was at Jerusalem, the feast of the dedication'). Neither the lately experienced enmity of the Jews nor the wintry season, χειμὼν ἦν ('it was winter'), could keep him from using the opportunity offered by this feast of finding many people together. There was no religious obligation to attend this feast. The notice with which this section closes, and which leads to the next, stands in connection with the desire of the Jews to seize him, mentioned at the end. As his time was not yet come, he withdrew, and that to the far side of the Jordan, where John had left traces of his activity.

The Closing Week.

The gospel closes with a week, as it began with one. The evangelist counts six days at the beginning, and so at the end he counts off from the sixth day before the passover. This πρὸ ἓξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα, xii. 1, corresponds by contrast to the following πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα, xiii. 1, just as supper corresponds to supper; at the former point, there are still six days to the passover,—at the latter, the hour of Jesus has come with the opening of the passover. The following account is to be understood of the passover supper. If this be the case, the great haste of the Sanhedrim to bring the case of Jesus to a close is explained. They finish it up at night, for it is a work of darkness. That is the reason it says, ἦν δὲ νύξ ('and it was night'), xiii. 30, when Judas goes off; it is not an indifferent notice, but emphasizes the work as one of darkness. That observation, that John calls attention to the way in which the Jews hurried with Jesus' condemnation, and even pressed anxiously to its completion, might very well commend Wieseler's explanation[1] of the much discussed note of time in xix. 14, ὥρα ἦν ὡς ἕκτη ('it was about the sixth hour'). His explanation would also have the advantage, that the evangelist, in mentioning the early morning hour, the sixth hour, made it noticeable that the decree

[1] Wieseler, *Chronologische Synopse der vier Evangelien*, Hamburg 1843, pp. 408-414.

followed the moment it could have validity. This determination of the time, however, has its perhaps insolvable difficulties, for which we must refer to the exposition.

On the following great Sabbath, xix. 31, on which they offered the ripe sheaf of the first-fruits, the Lord rested in the grave. The Sunday, the beginning of the new week, he made his own day, by his resurrection. It was a Sunday both times, the beginning of a new week, upon which Jesus showed himself to his own, imparted to them his peace and his Holy Spirit, and therewith founded the new era that now opened, and that rested on belief in the invisible one. The evangelist closes with these statements of time.

I think we have found that these various notes all have their place in the account as a whole,—a place that was designed, and that was full of importance for the thought in the context. The result obtained is double. In the first place, we see how clearly the historical course, in all its particulars, floats before the evangelist's mind. The special statements, particularly where they themselves stand in internal connection, are easily at command. In the second place, we perceive, by the fact that he merely adds them where they are of consequence for the subject and for its thought, that the external history is only to serve him to express something.

All this would be overthrown, if those were right who think that they have found instances of such historical and other ignorance, that the book cannot possibly be the work of a native of Palestine.

(3.) *The alleged Instances of Ignorance and Error.*

Others have already said so much on this that we can be brief. On the critical side itself, moreover, they have of late given up most of the earlier objections.[1]

They ought to have ceased long ago the cry that the evangelist put Bethany on the Jordan by mistake. At i. 28 he adds expressly, *πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου* ('beyond Jordan'); and, on the other hand, he remarks of the other Bethany, xi. 18, *ἦν δὲ ἡ Βηθανία ἐγγὺς τῶν Ἱερουσολύμων ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίων δεκαπέντε* ('now Bethany was nigh unto Jerusalem, about fifteen furlongs

[1] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zurich 1867, vol. i. p. 133.

off'). After such a complete distinguishing between the two, they ought to be ashamed to talk about his confounding the two from ignorance; and that the more, when we consider for what reason the evangelist adds the closer definition. It was not his design to distinguish the places from each other, as Brückner, Baumgarten-Crusius, and others think. But the first specification is to say how far, the second[1] how near, the place was. The former shows that John did not make things convenient for the Jews. He demanded that they should come clear over the Jordan to him, and display their readiness by that very act. The latter shows how easily the raising of Lazarus could and even must cause a great sensation at Jerusalem, because Bethany was so near the city, and hence a large number of Jews were present. It is absurd to think of a confounding of the two, where the design of the remark is so decided and clear. Hug's[2] observation may be added. He says the evangelist in x. 40 points back to the Bethany beyond Jordan, and makes Jesus pass from there to the other Bethany. He also remarks justly, that there was a difference in the way of writing the two Bethanies in Hebrew, and in their meaning, so that they sound alike only in Greek.

It has been said, as to Ænon, iii. 23, that there is no such city. Hug answers[3] that the Baptist would not have picked out a city. Besides, a Shilhim and an Ain are mentioned together in Josh. xv. 32.

In relation to Sychar, iv. 5, in our opinion, it is wrong to go upon the supposition that it is identical with Sichem. This is the common supposition.[4] But whether Sychar be identical with Sichem, or different from it, there is no ground for seeing in this a sign of a lack of geographical knowledge.

Caiaphas' high-priesthood has already been much discussed. Yet the thing is tolerably simple. The high-priesthood of

[1] Lampe, *Commentarius Evangelii secundum Joannem*, Amsterdam 1726, vol. ii. p. 760.

[2] Hug, *Einleitung in N. T.*, 4th ed., Stuttgart 1847, vol. ii. p. 194.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] See Wieseler, *Chronologische Synopse der vier Evangelien*, Hamburg 1843, p. 256, note. 'First of all, there can be no doubt that Sichem is meant by Sychar.' Winer, *Reallexicon*, ii. p. 455, note; and Keim, *ut supra*, 'by a dialect, or deridingly.'

Caiaphas is certainly put in especial connection with that year. The question is, in what sense? Hug[1] thinks that Annas and Caiaphas were high priests together, but alternately. See Luke iii. 1, 2. The gospel history teaches clearly enough that Annas not only bore the name, but also took a distinguished position before all others. The thing peculiar to the high-priesthood, however, lies elsewhere. It lies in the offering the sacrifice on the great day of atonement. This, then, is what John points to. It was Caiaphas who had to fulfil the peculiar high-priestly function that year. This is rich in meaning for him. This year is particularly important to the evangelist, because in it the true sacrificial Lamb of God was offered for all time. For this to come to pass, required the service of the God-hostile unbelief of him whose duty it was, according to his office, to present the high-priestly sacrifice to God. Hence he does not give and we must not seek in his words a mere historical notice, but they have a deep religious meaning. John the prophet, at the beginning of the public life of Jesus, had designated him prophetically as *ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου* ('the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world'), i. 29. And thus, at its end, Caiaphas the high priest was to designate him prophetically as the atoning sacrifice for the people. Indeed, he was to bring it to pass that he should be offered up as such. The evangelist does not speak of a *προφητεύειν* ('prophesying') by the high priest, because he believed that the gift of prophecy was peculiar to the high priest. He only means to show that his word so shaped itself by the working of the Spirit of God, that it became a prophetic witness to the truth, just as the words of Jesus' kingship that Pilate nailed to the cross, xix. 19, became an undesigned testimony to the kingship of Jesus. It must all come to pass on this wise, because Caiaphas had to offer the high-priestly sacrifice for the people in that year. The evangelist by this designates Jesus as the true atoning sacrifice, and thus, too, he designates him in xix. 36 as the true passover. He lived so thoroughly in Old Testament contemplation, that he saw in Jesus, and in what he brought that was new, the essential fulfilment of that which was old.

[1] Hug, *Einleitung, ut supra.* vol. ii. pp. 195–198.

How can any one charge him with the strange ignorance, that he believed that the Jewish high priest changed every year,—say, like the Roman consul![1]

(4.) *The Symbolical Character of Various Features.*

The last-mentioned remark of the evangelist is exceedingly instructive. It shows that his gaze throughout does not fix on the outward facts as such, but that he constantly keeps in his eye their importance for the history of redemption. This, however, frequently coincides with their symbolical importance. This symbolical character of his representation comes out in many distinct features. Thus in ix. 7 he interprets Σιλωάμ ('Siloam') as ἀπεσταλμένος ('sent'), and refers it to Christ. For it is unquestionable that it should not be referred to the blind man. Lücke and others think, indeed, that they find here a trifling that is unworthy of John. That is only because they mistake the character of John's representation and view. This name of the water is not important to the evangelist, because he favoured the Jewish erudition which sought after etymological mysteries.[2] It is important, in conjunction with the symbolical meaning which the well Siloah has in the Old Testament prophecy, as in Isa. viii. 6, as an image of a promise. This promise, joined to the house of David and to their abode, takes an insignificant course, but has found its realization in Jesus the Christ. The apparently chance analogy of the word must point to the essential fulfilling of the thing. See ix. 39, ἵνα οἱ μὴ βλέποντες βλέπωσιν ('that they which see not might see'). Thus this occurrence becomes for the evangelist a σημεῖον ('sign'), which gives us the complete perception of Jesus' calling to be the light of the world. Hence, too, the evangelist can content himself with the one healing of the blind. This single relation shows us that the evangelist means to write the history of redemption, not according to its outward extent, but in its inner meaning.

On this account, the way the first disciples come to Jesus,

[1] Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 333.

[2] Hug, *Einleitung in N. T.*, 4th ed., Stuttgart 1847, vol. ii. p. 202.

i. 36-40 (English version, 39), is also of importance for the evangelist. It is to him a type of coming to Jesus in general. What Jesus does at Cana, and what he does at Jerusalem in the temple, is to him of symbolical meaning. He refers from this first circle of his σημεῖα ('signs') to the last, ii. 18. And thus to him all his intermediate conduct becomes a σημεῖον ('sign') of itself. Every feature in the life of the Lord is of such endlessly rich contents, that the evangelist is thoroughly conscious, xx. 30, that he can only make a few things conspicuous so as to show thereby the essential contents of the outward life of Jesus. He is one and the same in each separate thing. Hence this little suffices for obtaining the essential saving knowledge of Christ. How arbitrary it is to say that because the separate features are full of meaning, therefore they are made up! Jesus presents himself in our gospel as the revelation of the essential life and light. If he was this, it follows that his whole life in his calling must have had a typical meaning. In so far as our evangelist reaches into the depths with his presentation of Jesus, his outward history must bear a symbolical character. The other three make rather each a single side of the matter the subject of the representation. John gives the person of Jesus himself in its essential importance. Hence, in the synoptists the symbolism of the outward history attaches more only to single features, which stand in closer connection with the fundamental thought of the gospel. But in John this symbolism is a peculiarity spread over the whole representation.

2. The Characters.

There is something symbolical, or better, typical, proper to almost all the various personalities that appear speaking or acting in this gospel history. The evangelist is not busied merely with the chance personality, or its name. He intends, as a rule, to portray by it some side or degree of the relation to Jesus. Thus the single men are not simply individual, but also general forms, and have a corresponding meaning. This position of the matter has been stretched too far, by saying that they really are not individuals; that they are only

types, embodiments of a thought, without flesh and blood.[1] Let us look at the various personages; and first, at Jesus himself as he here meets us.

(1.) *Jesus.*

The first question is, whether Jesus as portrayed be the mere embodiment of an idea, or whether he is a concrete shape. The former has been said, from the very way of bringing together Jesus and the Baptist.[2] And yet the account bears plainly enough on its face the character of historical actuality. We see Jesus going about in the neighbourhood of the Baptist. Where else should he be? The Baptist was to usher him in, and so he had to be near the Baptist until he gathered the first circle of disciples, surrounded by whom he would come forth publicly in Jerusalem. Hence the Baptist sees him coming to him, i. 29; and sees him in his neighbourhood, i. 36. According to the synoptists, Jesus had before this, since the baptism, been away from him forty days. Were this so, then that approach was a demand on the Baptist to bear witness to the one personally present, the witness that he gave the day before only in general. When the Baptist sees him staying near him, it is a demand that he shall direct his disciples to him. This outward bearing of both to each other is so natural and fit, that it cannot well be thought otherwise.[3] The evangelist certainly does not care about the approach, ver. 29, and the walking, ver. 36, in and for themselves. Therefore he does not tell further whether Jesus at this time also came to the Baptist, or whether he spoke to him, and the like. He mentions it only as the occasion for those utterances which he has to relate. These he picks out from a number, and combines as the design of his gospel requires. All external self-presentation of Jesus is a sign of the essential facts of the case and of the real relation, and the design of the evangelist is to present the latter. In this case we must not be surprised to find that their essential relation

[1] See Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 143, as to Nicodemus and the Samaritan woman.

[2] See Baur, *ut supra*, pp. 110–126, especially p. 124.

[3] See Bengel on this passage.

mirrors itself in the mutual demeanour of Jesus and the Baptist, as the evangelist depicts it. The Baptist expresses this relation in three phrases, i. 30, *ὀπίσω μου ἔρχεται ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν, ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν* ('after me cometh a man which is preferred before me: for he was before me'). This is the first phrase. The second phrase appears at the second bringing together of Jesus and the Baptist, iii. 22–36. Between, we learn the passage from the first to the second. The third phrase is the contents of the self-witness of Jesus.

This first meeting of Jesus and the Baptist, although full of meaning throughout, yet, on the other side, only corresponds to the historical actuality. The same is true of the meeting of Jesus and his first disciples. The words are short, stroke on stroke. The action itself stands out without description or delineation. The impression Jesus made on them is so treated that only the effect of the meeting is mentioned, and not a word is said as to the impression itself. Jesus' manner of demeanour toward the disciples is to meet them with a short phrase, at once to throw a spark into them, and then leave it to the direct personal impression to make the spark a light and a new life-power in them. He gives no summary exposition as to himself and them. All this makes the impression of fullest truth to the life. And yet everything is important. The whole essential conduct towards Jesus mirrors itself in their 'coming, and seeing, and abiding with him,' ver. 40. The knowledge as it arises in them; the words with which they express the same; and, on the other side, the few words in which Jesus reveals himself and tells what he is: all this contains at base the whole that the evangelist has to say of Jesus.

Is it any more likely that Jesus at the wedding at Cana is the embodiment of an idea? It would be hard to say how it could come into the evangelist's head to make him appear at a wedding. If this idea was important in his view, why did he not have him hold a discourse upon it, as for instance in chap. x., about himself as the good shepherd? And why was it at Cana? why this meeting with his mother? why the stone pots? why do only the servants observe it, and not all the guests? and so on. A host of such questions arise

here, and could be raised in like manner later at every other occurrence, if we were determined to see in this nothing but the embodiment of an idea, if we meant to find in Jesus and his demeanour nothing but an idea put into a seeming historical movement. Here, as afterwards in the temple, it is certainly not the outward action that it lay in the interest of the evangelist to report. He wishes to make its signification, its meaning, perceptible, so that we may thereby recognise Jesus himself, and what he is. But the reality of the representation shows itself in the fact that the evangelist leaves it to the action itself to unfold its contents and meaning. He does not embellish the occurrence with his own explanation of its sense; he is satisfied to pick out the incidents, to combine them, and at most to add a short hint. That shows the respect he has for the objectivity of the fact.

Look at the actions of Jesus. At Cana he is intent upon maintaining the joyfulness of the wedding. He comes forth with a punishing severity in the temple. He works miracles and finds applause among the people. He distinguishes carefully between the fleeting applause of the crowd, which is only called forth by something out of the common order, and that acknowledgment which is the product of a moral operation in the heart, and is itself of a moral nature. He points the Pharisee to the necessity of such an inward operation, and expects him, as learned in the Scriptures, to understand him. Contrast this with the case of the woman at Sychar, in whom he finds a willing spirit. He follows her in her thoughts and her life, until he finds and wins her in her innermost heart. He, when tired, rests at the well, while the disciples buy food. But he forgets hunger and thirst at the opportunity of winning a lost soul for the salvation that appeared in him. And this fulfilling his calling and his Father's will, causes an inward satisfaction, which raises him for the moment above the bodily need. All these things carry the form, not of an embodied idea, but of a man in the body, of one in whom grace and truth appeared.

Jesus, on doing a work of mercy, disappeared among the people, v. 13, so as not to excite attention, and to produce in this way a belief that had no moral value. And he only uses a meeting with the healed man for a moral influence on

him by a short phrase. Are these things incompatible with the reality of the person of Jesus? Do they not much more prove it? Were Jesus only an embodied idea, a living human soul and its deliverance would be nothing to him. Then we should find only an explanation of the idea, in word or symbol, and not a moral influence. Is it not just the same when, after the feeding, he withdraws himself from the excited people, because the action they intend does not spring from a moral movement in their hearts? Is it not the same when, meeting them on the following day, he points them, above all, to the moral conditions of the blessing which he has to offer? Is it not a sign of true interest in men and in their salvation when he throughout urges the moral act of recognition, and prefers to risk his recognition itself? What has an idea to do with this? It is so at Capernaum. It is so in all meetings with the Jews.

Again, consider the sympathetic heart that we feel so vividly in the whole demeanour of Jesus. It, too, forbids us to think of the exposition of a mere idea. Sympathy leads him to heal the man ill for thirty-eight years, to feed the people in the desert, and to raise his friend Lazarus. It is true that he takes even his human feeling and every deed of his heart into the service of his life-task. But because he who became man serves constantly and fully a positive divine will, he does not cease to be a true man. He speaks a rebuking word to the nobleman, and yet lets himself be induced by his prayer to help him, iv. 48 ff. This is an utterance of his heart, only serving the will of his calling. In Capernaum, vi. 26 ff., he does not begin to speak of himself, but of the questioners, and of what they truly need. This is an act of hearty interest in the welfare of men. It is an act of hearty interest when he shrinks neither from the hate of the Jews, vii. 7 ff., nor from the severity of the season, x. 22, in order, despite the danger to his life, to teach the people in the temple exactly at the feasts. It is an act of hearty interest, when he leaves no objection to his recognition unnoticed, vii. 27 ff.; when he puts the existing contrast in the sharpest word, so as to overcome it, where possible, by this most extreme means, viii. 44; and when he speaks out the concealed murderous thoughts in open word, so as to

keep them, it may be, from such things, viii. 40 and elsewhere.

But the attacks are aimed especially at the story of the raising of Lazarus. To believers of all ages it has been deeply touching and full of comfort. But Keim[1] calls 'the conduct of Jesus before the act, and in the act, strange and offensive.' Men say it was heartless to let Lazarus die, when he could have kept him from death.[2] As if all his action and all his feeling must not be subject to the law of his calling, which is the will of God! And as if he had not a joy ready, which was greater than the mourning over death! But they say it was unpsychological, and therefore unreal, that he should weep, xi. 35, over the death of him whom he was in the very act of raising.[3] The future, however, does not take away the pain of the instant, nor in general the grief for death, which he shares, because he is a man among men. And finally, they say it is unpsychological, and so unreal, that Jesus should pray aloud for the sake of the bystanders, xi. 41, 42.[4] Observe, however, that he has already, before this, prayed in secret to the Father, as all his inner communication with the Father was prayer. What he now speaks is not strictly his prayer. He only utters aloud his thanks for the hearing received inwardly. It is to let the bystanders see what his relation to the Father is; that of independence, and yet of entire communion in love.

How can they speak of an embodied idea? Behold him deeply moved at the thought of the betrayer, xiii. 21. See John resting on his bosom at the last supper, xiii. 23. Hear him warning, strengthening, and comforting his disciples for the farewell. Giving himself up to death, observe how careful he is to guard his disciples, xviii. 8. In the very moment of death he directs his mother to his beloved disciple. Are not his last discourses all soul? Do we not feel a beating heart in them? Is there not a power of love in them such as can only go forth from a real personality and not from an idea?

[1] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 132.

[2] Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 193.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

In brief, look where we will at the separate notices of time and place, or at the various scattered lines of the portrait of Jesus, the result is always the same. The evangelist does not have to do with the outward history in and for itself. It serves him as a revelation and sign of what is essential. Yet it does not cease to be truly historical. Nor does Jesus cease to be a bodily, real personality. He does not become the Logos 'who is not born and is not baptized, who does not struggle and does not suffer.'[1] Keim says this recklessly: there is no other way of naming it. Let us see whether the case is different with the other personages.

(2.) *The Various Figures.*

It will not be hard to see reality in these, too, shining forth everywhere.

a. Thomas.

Among the disciples, Thomas is first of all delineated clearly enough by the few words reported from him. It betrays a melancholy temper, and one most open to mournful thoughts, when he understands Jesus' saying, that they would go to Lazarus, of dying, xi. 16. Winer's notion, that this way of taking it rests on clearness of perception,[2] is an explanation that cannot hold. At the same time, nevertheless, these words indicate a deep feeling of inward communion, and a deep, moving grief, as over a thwarted hope. They do not show rashness and forwardness.[3] They tell of a soul turned to the dark side. The death of his friend Jesus, to whom he has joined himself with all heartiness of feeling, as to the hope of Israel, seems to undo this hope. If they who are nearest to him die, where is the kingdom of David? From this time it goes hard with him in the ways of Jesus. They seem to him to lose themselves in the night, and not to lead to the light of the new day. Melancholy as he was, he burrowed himself ever deeper into the dark thoughts. Although they blighted the life of his soul, he clung with all tenacity to his pain,

[1] Keim, *ut supra*, vol. i. p. 125.
[2] Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, 3d ed., Leipzig 1848, ii. p. 614.
[3] *Ibid.*

cherishing and feeding it. As happens with such natures, he would not leave it. Hopelessness had become the hidden world of his soul. He would not give it up. Hence this sad speech: 'Our hope is gone. Israel's hope is gone. The best thing we can do is to die.' Nor does he understand Jesus when he speaks of the way by which he is now going to the Father. His eyes can perceive neither the end of salvation nor the way to this end. He sees only the night of death. Hence come his hopeless words. They knew not the end of the ways of Jesus,—how should they know the way? We can easily imagine what impression the death of Jesus must have made on such a man, and what his frame of mind on the following days must have been. No wonder that the news of the resurrection seemed to him to be a self-deception on the part of those who wished and hoped too sanguinely. He thought that he in his troubled mind was much nearer the truth than those sanguine ones. It had cost him pain enough to give up the hope of Israel. And now shall he bargain away his hopelessness so easily? It has become too dear to him for that. The most extreme thing, the unbelievable, must happen to him before he will believe. It seems to him an impossibility that the condition be fulfilled, and still more impossible that he win faith. And this unbelievable, this impossible thing, comes to pass for him; comes to pass so shamingly, so astoundingly. It upsets his thoughts at a stroke. It casts him, himself, at Jesus' feet. It agitates his inmost heart to the deepest extent. His soul lifts itself, by a sudden mighty sweep, from the unbelief of hopeless melancholy to that highest word of belief. The gospel knows how to report this saying. It puts it at the end as the fullest expression of the belief, which it itself wishes to beget: 'My Lord and my God!' There is no need to prove that this sudden change of frame has the fullest psychological truth. It is said that this confession indicates an impetuous nature;[1] or that previous hesitation denotes scepticism, xx. 25; or foresight which seeks in hope that has become dear, to keep all deception at a distance, and to go with entire surety;[2] or that he was in general inclined to what was visible and intelligible.[3]

[1] Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, 3d ed., Leipzig 1848, vol. ii. p. 614.
[2] Niemeyer, *Charakteristiken*, i. p. 108. [3] Winer, *ut supra*, vol. ii. p. 615.

We do not need to suppose any of these things. The chief point for us is this. These few scattered utterances, which join so easily to make a characteristic psychological unity, are not woven into the story just to characterize the disciple. They occur because they have exactly their necessary place at their respective positions in the account. He names the disciple, simply because they were joined to that disciple in the evangelist's memory. The scantiness of the notices, and the way they are strewed about, do not fit the idea that he meant to draw a character. And yet these traits agree together in one harmonious picture of a character. This being so, it is certainly proof enough that a concrete form stood before his soul when he wove into the course of his gospel these few detached words of the disciple in question. This remark may be applied in advance to all the following persons characterized.

b. Nathanael.

Jesus Himself set for all time the most beautiful monument to the purity of Nathanael. It is too distinguishingly individual to be a feigned general dictum. His soul appears to have been so pure and without offence, his eye so clear and bright. His dear employment was to read the promises of Moses and the prophets, his dearest thought was Israel's being. He looked towards this hope with serene mind, without great uneasiness of longing. It was joy enough for him in his house and under his fig-tree. His clear, wise nature was free from the deceptions and danger of a restless enthusiasm. Such a one can only be addressed with calm prudence. Hence Philip's communication to him shows such prudence. He clothes it almost in the form of a demonstration with the closing εὑρήκαμεν ('we have found'). They had 'found him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write,' in Jesus the Son of Joseph, who was from Nazareth. All is said by design, as clearly, as decidedly, and as judiciously as possible. That shows, too, why Philip names him the son of Joseph. He had to describe Jesus as exactly as he could, according to the tokens that appeared to outward observation. The way in which Nathanael expresses his decided doubt as to the coming of Israel's king from Nazareth, ver. 47 (English version, 46),

has something so individual about it, and at the same time goes so far beyond the immediate need of the author, that for these very reasons it can hardly be made up. All turns here upon 'to perceive,' 'to find,' 'to see.' Hence Jesus also convinces the pure intelligence of this Israelite by his wonderful 'seeing,' and promises, as a reward to belief, a higher 'seeing.' He utters his confession, i. 50 (Eng. vers. 49), in the form of clear conviction and in its calm words: He of whom the writings of Moses and of the prophets speak, the Son of God and the King of Israel, he has in reality appeared in thee, Master! Only two sayings of Nathanael are reported to us, but these are enough to let us see his pure, intelligent nature.

c. Philip.

Philip had led Nathanael to Jesus. Few traces of him, besides this, are preserved, vi. 5-7, xii. 21 f., xiv. 8. Winer thinks[1] these are too few to give an idea of his character. They certainly are too scanty to form a typical figure, had the evangelist intended such a one. It seems to me, however, that they are enough to show that deliberateness was the ruling feature in his nature. If he was of a deliberate nature that found it hard to decide for and to follow in belief, we can understand why Jesus himself demanded that he should follow him. He may even then have wavered and hesitated; but when he saw Andrew and Peter, his well-known countrymen, whom he perhaps esteemed, in Jesus' train, his doubt vanished apace. It is characteristic of him that he describes Jesus to Nathanael in a comprehensive way, and not in a single independent phrase. It is true, he spoke carefully for Nathanael's sake, but at the same time he uses the deliberateness and the circumstantiality proper to his nature. Jesus appears to have made it his care to bring his heavy deliberation into a more living flow and to a greater surety of belief. Hence he turns to him just before the feeding, vi. 5. He did not wish for counsel. He meant to give him a word of instruction. He waited for a word of deliberate, hesitating reflection, only to make it null by his deed, and so free the one questioned from the vice of his nature. And

[1] Winer, *ut supra*, vol. ii. p. 250.

Philip's answer agrees entirely with what we have before recognised in him. It denotes clearly enough his considerate, scrupulous nature. He calculates exactly, and considers the smallest details. He does not approach the thought of what was possible. The same deliberateness, bordering on indecision, appears in regard to the request of the Greeks, xii. 21 f. He does not refuse the prayer, and yet does not venture to fulfil it. It might be a questionable act to bring Jesus into direct contact with Greeks. It might not be exactly right for Jesus himself. It might hurt his working in Israel. With such hesitation he comes to no conclusion; he must first tell some one else. This one suggests at once that the simplest thing is to speak of it to Jesus himself. Again it is characteristic of him that he cannot understand Jesus' saying, that they had known and seen the Father, xiv. 7–9. He has not seen him. The word of reproof with which Jesus answers him, shows us with what patience he had thus far borne the heaviness of his belief, and had sought to help it. According to Clement of Alexandria,[1] he is that *μαθητής* ('disciple') to whom Jesus speaks the words in Matt. viii. 22 and Luke ix. 60. They would certainly fit the heavy, circumstantial caution that we have found to be peculiar to him.

d. Andrew.

Philip is put with Andrew at vi. 8 and xii. 22. We can see a contrast between them in each case. At vi. 7, Philip, in pure consideration of what was necessary, does not reach the thought of what was possible; but with Andrew that is the first thought. He at least turns over the store in hand, even if he comes to the conclusion that it is not enough. He still thinks on ways and means as they offer themselves for consideration. We find in him a great speed of understanding, that tries and knows how to help itself. Therefore, at xii. 22, Philip goes straight to him when he is at a loss what to do, and Andrew sees at once the nearest way out of the trouble. This quick style marks his very first appearance in our gospel. He greets his brother Peter with the short *εὑρήκαμεν τὸν Μεσσίαν* ('we have found the Messias'). How differently

[1] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* iii., ed. Sylburg, Cologne 1688, p. 436 a, b.

that sounds from the εὑρήκαμεν ('we have found') of Philip!

e. Peter.

Andrew, in this quickness, shows his relationship to his brother Simon Peter. Peter's hastiness, however, belongs not only to the sphere of thought, but above all, to that of action. He is the first one to speak, and is the mouth of the others, vi. 68 f., and it was then given to him to find and say the right word at the right time. Yet his speech is with him a deed. This speed of action puts him at the head of the rest. Jesus from the first chose this man of action to be the founder of his church because of his quick energy, i. 43 (Eng. vers. 42). But his danger lay in this very hastiness of acting. It was determined by the moment. In this point his advantage and his fault meet. Look at xiii. 8, 9. At one moment he refuses to let the Lord wash his feet; at the next, turning round, he wants his head and hands washed too. This is at the same time a credit to him and a sign of a too hasty nature. The same double character attaches to his presuming that he will lay down his life for his Lord, xiii. 37, and to his drawing the sword to defend Him, xviii. 10. At the foot-washing the most lively feeling for the sublimity of his Lord expresses itself in that κύριε ('Lord') at the first, and in the emphatic σύ ('thou'). But this hastiness of nature does not let him reach a calm consideration and recognition of the reason for Jesus' action. This same liveliness of feeling for the sublimity of the Lord (compare Luke v. 8) is seen before this in his confession. He finds the right word, and says it in quick way, and with an exclusive sense, as at vi. 68, κύριε, πρὸσ τίνα ἀπελευσόμεθα; ('Lord, to whom shall we go?') The same feeling hurries him to an arbitrariness of judgment, which the first time is far too much for the action of the Lord, xiii. 6, 8, and the second time far too little, xiii. 9.

This active feeling for the Lord could not understand His quiet ways. Hence arose the independent attempt to defend his Lord with the sword, xviii. 10. It agrees with Peter's hasty, violent, and therefore sensitive way, that he is not inclined to submit to much, as in Matt. xviii. 21. How much less then would he stand anything against his Master, whom

he put so infinitely above himself, and for whom and for whose interest he felt so keenly and strongly. Hence the Lord's answer. Patient submission and not violent self-will became Him the master, and therefore also his disciple. His training of Peter aims at this. He puts that before him as the object of his life, that he learn to submit in patient resignation to whatever God ordains for him, xxi. 18. The relator adds rightly that He meant to show by this the manner of his death. Nevertheless, the contrast to ὅτε ἦσ νεώτεροσ, ἐζώννυεσ σεαυτὸν καὶ περιεπάτεισ ὅπου ἤθελεσ ('when thou wast young, thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldest'), makes it plain enough that our Lord intended to emphasize the meaning which this very death would have for this very man Peter. It is the aim of the whole guidance from self-dependence to calm submission unto God. On this side, Peter's manner and training remind us vividly of Moses. Moses in his hasty glow tried of himself to seize the calling of a redeemer, Ex. ii. 11–15, Acts vii. 25, and was on this account sent to the school of waiting on God's time and will. This independence of his action, however, arose from his vivid feeling for his people, the people of God; and this feeling naturally fitted him for his divine calling of a redeeming mediator, Ex. xxxii. 11 ff. So it was also with Peter. The strong feeling he had for Jesus, founded in the lively excitability of his nature, was what led him to his rash actions. But this feeling was also what fitted him to be the foundation-laying witness of the exalted Jesus.

We may perceive this peculiarity of the apostle at xiii. 24. The others are troubled and confounded at the saying of Jesus about the betrayer. He will not rest till he knows who it is: εἰπὲ τίσ ἐστιν περὶ οὗ λέγει ('tell who it is of whom He speaks'). John is to tell him at once. It was not curiosity that made Peter ask thus. It was his keen feeling for his Master. This and that may have sped through his thoughts: Perhaps it can be hindered, and the like. He probably took the sword along with some such thoughts, in case he should want to use it. Weariness overcame him out in the garden, and so it is the easier to explain how he sought to make his neglect good by violence of defence.

He goes before the others in all this. In natural things

he is the element that gives the impulse to the rest, and he is in front. It is the same in the affairs of Jesus. When they are by the sea together, he summons them to go a-fishing, saying shortly that he does it. And the others join him: *ἐρχόμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖσ σὺν σοί*, xxi. 3. And as John recognised the Lord he hurries to the shore ahead of the rest, far too impatient to let himself be carried thither by the boat, xxi. 7. But when the Lord says to bring some of the fish, he again is the first to draw the net to land, ver. 11. It is not as if he sought something by it. It is quite as natural to him as it was to make the confession in the name of the others, or to speak for John the question that lay in his quiet following after Jesus, xxi. 21. The rest acknowledge his position just as unhesitatingly. Mary Magdalene hurries from the opened grave first to him, xx. 2. True, the other disciple runs ahead of him. Yet, while the former looks into the grave, Peter goes in. Meditation and intuitive discernment are proper to the former, quick action is peculiar to the latter. With a hasty glance around he sees all there was to observe in the grave, so as to be able to form a judgment, and determine on the future steps. Then first he calls the attention of the other to the details, xx. 6–8.

Natures like this, which are always ready with quick power, where that counts, have, as a rule, a certain self-reliance. They are perfectly aware of the superiority of their living energy. The self-confidence arising therefrom reflects far too little upon the weakness of the flesh, to which it is nevertheless subject, and goes into danger without forethought. In Peter's case, his entirely absorbing feeling for his Lord was added to all this. He cannot imagine the possibility of his leaving this one for whose sake he had left all else; compare Matt. xix. 27. He is sure that he can go with Him upon every road, and, if need be, unto death, xiii. 37. This seems so natural to him, and it seems so impossible that it should be otherwise, that he is utterly unable to understand the warning word of Jesus. And so he pays no further heed to it, and forgets it at once, until it is again called to his memory by its fulfilment.

The rest fly when Jesus is taken prisoner. Peter must follow Him. He must see what the result will be. He must

know what they are going to do to his Lord, and whether they will dare to go to the last extreme with their long-cherished hate. The words of Jesus had not sufficed to make him prudent. He thinks that he must. All hesitation on that point is gone. It ought to be a warning to him that he has to wait a while before the door until that other disciple sees him. Instead of that, his purpose is only the stronger. Then the maid's question comes in the way to trouble him. He is afraid that this will spoil all. He puts her off with a short, almost angry, word. He does not think of the duty of confession. He is too much controlled by the moment to be able to think of anything further. He mingles with the servants at the fire, so as to be able to follow the thing up better. Thus his imprudence grows. Now that he is once in the court, he will use it to the best. That exposes him to the new and repeated questions which threaten to undo his design, and hence make him cross and violent. As is the case with such prevailingly sanguine natures, he again regards only what belongs to the moment, and lays all other considerations out of sight. This peculiarity is the base of what is elsewhere usually called the apostle's fear of men; see Gal. ii. 12.[1] Violently and angrily, the words therefore heightened against his wish, he has for the last time cut short the pressing question of the servants with a lie. Then the cock-crow, which he had not noticed before, recalls the words of Jesus, and reminds him of what he has just done. The denial of Him whom he honoured as his Lord falls on his soul with all its weight. Now his pain is only the more violent.

Taken thus in connection with the rest that is characteristic of this apostle, this occurrence will no longer be so inconceivable, psychologically, that the riddle can only be solved by a special bringing in of Satan. Naturally, he will be thought of as working in it (see Luke xxii. 31 f.), but within the psychological law. As for a 'denial, more trembled out than spoken,' which would have betrayed 'the struggle of the soul,'[2] neither can we find it, nor is it necessary for us

[1] See Niemeyer, *Charakteristiken*, i. p. 371, and Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1843, vol. ii. p. 713.

[2] Niemeyer, *Charakteristiken*, i. p. 370 f.

to seek it. It is altogether arbitrary to find the motive for the denial in a fear of death.[1]

It is a matter of psychological necessity that this should call forth a complete, decisive change in Peter's whole being. He remains the same man, in his hasty power, his quick excitability, his being moved by the moment, and his confident action wherewith he leads the rest. But his former short-sighted self-confidence has left him. That experience has freed his nature from this vice. It is easily to be seen why Peter goes hesitatingly to the grave of his Lord after that denial. But he at once shows the quick and energetic manner of his nature by the way in which he hastily and exactly looks at everything around, so as to get starting-points from which he may draw conclusions as to what has happened to Jesus. This same feature is seen in the account that at the Sea of Tiberias he hurried swiftly to his Lord on the shore; and it shows itself still more clearly when, in an earlier appearance of the Lord, a sign of pardon was given him. In a quick, vivid way he displays that thankfulness, which must have filled his own whole soul only the more in proportion to the greater weight with which he had felt his guilt. Jesus' thrice-repeated question, finally, is intended to cleanse him from his false self-confidence, and from the danger of the false self-reliance previously so easy for him. His answers show that he is purged therefrom. His humility is bound up with a confidence resting entirely on the Lord: *ναὶ κύριε, σὺ οἶδας* ('Yea, Lord; thou knowest'). Jesus sets before his eyes a death of the fullest devotion. After that, whither can his thoughts be directed but to the unseen world, the true life? with what else can they be filled than with hope? If he writes, he will write of that. That is the very theme of the first epistle which bears his name. But writing lay distant from his entire nature. He only brought himself to it perhaps towards the end of his life. His calling was to found and protect the church by the acts of word and of miracle. And his word and miracle will have been a testimony against the world-life from which he had freed himself, and a testimony to Jesus the living one, in whom alone he lived.

[1] Lampe, *Commentarius evangelii secundum Joannem*, Amsterdam 1726, vol. iii. p. 538.

f. The Beloved Disciple.

At the last supper, in the court of the high priest, on the way to the grave, and by the Sea of Tiberias, the beloved disciple is mentioned in connection with Peter. In this disciple it has always been believed that we must recognise the author of the gospel and the apostle John. Passing that question, we must ask what clues to his character these few notes give us. Aside from the four cases quoted, he is only mentioned as the one who, standing at the cross of Jesus, received from Him his mother in charge. At this occasion he is not spoken of to report something about him, but because mention of him could not be avoided in telling of this token of Jesus' love. We may also observe a striking recession of this disciple in the other four cases. Of all the rest, words are given which they spoke to Jesus; of him that is almost entirely omitted. At the supper he says, *κύριε, τίς ἐστιν;* ('Lord, who is it?') By the Sea of Tiberias he says to Peter that it is the Lord who stands on the shore. And if he was one of those first two who attached themselves to Jesus, he asked him: *Ῥαββεί, ποῦ μένεις;* ('Rabbi, where dwellest thou?') These are all the words reported to us from him. The fact that he spoke to the doorkeeper, that she might let Peter in, scarce deserves mention.

This silence is partially but not entirely explained if he himself be the author of the gospel. Why is he referred to as speaking, less frequently than he is in general referred to? He would therefore appear to have been of a more silent nature than others. When he lies upon his Master's breast at the last supper, and his Master speaks of treason, he is sad and silent. Peter must first call on him to ask. When the Lord at the Sea of Tiberias turns from them and bids Peter to follow, he cannot persuade his heart to remain. He has a question—a prayer. He follows Jesus too, but silent. Peter has to express his action in the questioning word. Probably quiet thought, calm feeling, especially distinguished him. Only now and then may he have been quick. He is the first at the grave. And his words, *ὁ κύριός ἐστιν* ('it is the Lord'), have the sound of an impetuous outburst. Otherwise he appears to us calm, reflecting, quietly feeling, inwardly

digesting. In xxi. 15 ff. he is put in contrast to Peter. The latter is the disciple who loves Jesus; the former, the one loved by Jesus. The fact that he at other times is almost always mentioned in union with Peter, permits us to conclude that the contrast of their characters bound them to each other. This will not allow us to say that he only became an intimate friend of Peter's after the ascension, and that he probably did not sympathize with him before.[1] The hasty Peter might well feel what an essential complement to his being lay in the habit of the other. And the latter, again, might value highly Peter's power of rapid action. Lampe,[2] indeed, thinks that John as no other enumerates fully the weaknesses of Peter. And Hilgenfeld[3] lauds Strauss for having 'discovered the opposition to a one-sided preference for the prince of the apostles.' This, however, is opposed at once by the way he makes it prominent that, at the very first meeting, Simon is designated by Jesus as Cephas, and chosen to be the Cephas; and then, later, that it was Simon Peter who, before all others, yielded that confession of Jesus. Another opinion of Köstlin's[4] is certainly much more singular. According to it, the appended account is a concession to or flattery of the Roman primate. Against both, we hold that the evangelist gladly lays stress on Peter's foremost position among the disciples; and this agrees with the fact that he likes to join the beloved disciple with him.

As for the term chosen for this beloved disciple, we feel from it itself that it is not chosen to praise him, or to make him distinguished, but that it is a word of blessed memory. That term, and the remark that he lay on the Lord's breast, xiii. 23 (xxi. 20), are intended to show strongly how much he was favoured. Both put before us the intimate, near relation in which he was allowed to stand towards Jesus. The fact that he could be the nearest to him externally, shows

[1] Niermeyer, *Charakteristiken*, i. p. 319.

[2] Lampe, *Commentarius evangelii secundum Joannem*, Amsterdam 1726, vol. iii. p. 510.

[3] Hilgenfeld, *Die Evangelien nach ihrer Entstehung und geschichtlicher Bedeutung*, Leipzig 1854, p. 335. Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, 4th ed., Tübingen 1840, vol. i. p. 623 ff.; compare vol. ii. p. 631 f. Compare also Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 320 f.

[4] Köstlin, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1850, 2. Heft, p. 293.

that he was also the nearest internally. Had Peter the most lively impression of Jesus' sublimity, this one had the deepest inward perception of His personality, of the richness of its blessed contents, and of its endless love. Whether fancy predominated in him or not, I do not know.[1] But the account lets it clearly appear that depth of feeling distinguished him above the others. Were he elsewhere at times more impetuous, in Jesus' neighbourhood quiet and calm spread over his whole being. He had not the uneasiness of the one demanding or displaying acknowledgment, as we find in the case of others. He was pure devotion to Jesus, and reception of the personality of Jesus in feeling.[2]

It corresponds to this that he speaks little. He feels, thinks, considers in his mind. Hence it is that he remains at the grave and looks thoughtfully into it. At the cross he is the only one of the disciples. He cannot separate himself from the sight of Him whom he loves above all. Hence, too, could he behold the miracle in His dead body, which none of the others beheld. He it is who, on the ship, recognised the Lord on the shore, xxi. 7. The others perceived in Jesus of Nazareth the Messias, the king of Israel, the Son of God, i. 42 (41), 50 (49), the holy one of God, vi. 69; but the person of Jesus was to none so intimately familiar as to this one. Yet it is rather a general impression of Jesus than definite perception and knowledge. Others precede him in the expression of acknowledgment. He could not put into words the impression he had of Jesus, and the way he perceived him, so quickly as they. Still, just because he was more indefinite, he could be more general. Because he, in the united life of his personality, was receptive of the whole personality of Jesus, and of its whole contents, essence, and life, his statement concerning Jesus will be the later and the more comprehensive. He had to digest deeper and more inwardly than the others. Hence the process was slower for him.

If this disciple wrote, he will have been the last to do it. But it will be the deepest and most intimate of all that was written about Jesus.

[1] Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, 3d ed., Leipzig 1847, vol. i. p. 592.

[2] See Ebrard, art. 'Johannes der Apostel,' Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie*, Stuttgart and Hamburg 1856, vol. vi. p. 722 f.

g. The Mother of Jesus.

Under the cross, the mother of Jesus is commended to the beloved disciple as his own. She is only mentioned twice in our gospel, here and at Cana. If it has been questioned in general whether, seeing the scantiness of the combined references to her, we should venture to sketch her character,[1] the hesitation in the matter might seem to be doubled by our being limited to these two notes of John's. Nevertheless, something may be found. Two points are characteristic at Cana,—that she appears first to have remarked the embarrassment, and that she tried to remedy it quietly without any one's noticing it. The former shows that she was a woman of a bright, clear eye, who ruled attentively and intelligently in woman's domain. With this open intelligence, the latter shows that she possessed fine feelings, which, in a delicate way, sought to spare the friends by whom she had been invited a shameful embarrassment, so that even they themselves should not observe it. To clear intelligence and delicate feelings she adds the humble devotion of a deep, earnest soul. She does not directly request her son to work a miracle, ii. 3. Indeed, after all, there is not even a request in the words, *οἶνος οὐκ ἔστιν* ('there is no wine'). She simply calls her son's attention to the fact. It is a delicate trait that she does no more. She has such confidence in him, and probably also such reverence towards him, that she thinks she should not, perhaps ought not, to say more to him. She certainly does not understand Jesus' answer aright. Doubtless she feels that it is a rebuff. Perhaps she draws from it that the relation between them is now no longer such as commonly obtains between mother and son. What it means she does not understand, but she accepts the situation. It is no small thing that she should not see her son in Jesus, not think of herself as his mother. Such a thing could only be expected of the most humble devotion to the ways of God in which she is led. She is in that posture, for she speaks to the servants of Jesus not as of her son, but in general only as of a person. Moreover, though she feels the repulse in his words, she does not thereby lose her confidence.

[1] Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, 3d ed., Leipzig 1848, vol. ii. p. 57.

This shows that in her inmost soul she must have received and must bear such an impression of Jesus' being, that she believes more in this inward certainty than in any apparently contradictory external thing, be it word or deed, which is still unintelligible to her.

This unfolds the deep contemplativeness of her being. Thus quietly acquiescing, contenting herself with Jesus' ways, she recedes entirely in the gospel history. We only find her again at the cross with the beloved disciple. There is something in her manner which is related to his. Only that clear, intelligent, watchful eye, if I may say so, that sanguine element, which in her case was united with quiet reflective pensiveness, distinguishes her from him. That which in him was a surrender of his own and a reception of Jesus' personality, was in her the humblest devotion. She must have passed through a training for that, and have reached no little perfection. It betokens great strength of heart that she is able to stand at the cross of her son, and see Him hanging and suffering on the tree between the two criminals. She had learned no longer to see merely her son in Jesus. At this place she again hears that γύναι ('woman'), xix. 26, and hears how Jesus entirely dissolves the tie of the filial relation. Ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ὥρας ('from that hour'), we read in ver. 27: she agreed so willingly to it. From her standing at the cross we perceive that she must have been a strong soul, strong through her unconditional devotion. God could only choose a strong woman for a vocation of such weight of sacrifice and suffering, and only such an humbly acquiescing disposition for a vocation of such height.

h. Mary Magdalene.

Mary Magdalene stands at the cross with the mother of Jesus. Nothing further is reported concerning her in the fourth gospel, save the event at the empty grave, xx. 1–18. That the Lord appears to her first of all, has distinguished her for ever. Surpassing the others, she has hurried to the grave before daybreak. In this she seems to be like John, that she personally had bound herself most intimately to the Lord. We may compare together the facts that she is the first at the

grave, as John is the first of the disciples there. Although the other evangelists know of more women, still she is put before the other women by the evangelists. Moreover, she is of a more tender nature than John, and yet she joins to this tenderness, I might almost say, a stubborn firmness. The two disciples have convinced themselves sufficiently that they now have nothing more to seek or to do here. So they turn back. Mary cannot separate herself from the grave so quickly. She does not give up the possibility. She cannot believe it yet, though she sees it and must believe it. It is characteristic that she cannot help looking into the grave again, although she has already seen thoroughly that it is empty, as if she must bring him hither by the persistency of her desire. That she weeps violently—the stronger *κλαίειν* ('to bewail') is chosen designedly—for the dead body of him whom she knows to have been dead for days, shows how excitable and of what tender feelings she was. The fact that she cannot leave the grave shows how entirely the life of her soul hung on her dead friend.

The strength of the excitement makes her capable of seeing what the others could not have seen. And the fact that she is not surprised at this uncommon sight, and talks with the angels as if it were nothing peculiar, is a sign of the greatest excitement, in which the wonderful ceases to be wonderful. On the one hand, only such an excitable nature as hers must have been, and on the other hand only such a complete despair at the loss of the Lord, as was the case with her, could have been capable of such excitement. She calls Him 'her Lord,' *τὸν κύριόν μου* ('my Lord'), xx. 13, as we elsewhere read only in xx. 28. Her excitement does not let her delay calmly at one point. *Οὐκ οἶδα ποῦ ἔθηκαν αὐτόν* ('I know not where they have laid him'), xx. 13. That calls back all her unrest of search and of longing. She thinks everybody must know what she wishes: 'If thou have borne him hence,' she addresses the supposed gardener. He must know whom she means. How could any one think now of any one else than of Him? She repeats the *αὐτόν* ('him') three times. Her pain and her excitement hasten stormily hither and thither, from the grave to the disciples, from these to the tears, and again to the grave, from the grave to the gardener,

and again to the grave. She must find him. But as she now suddenly hears the well-known sound of his voice, which strikes her soul as she hears it in her name again, and in that one word has her Lord entire and living, whom she had for days wept over as dead, and had now bewailed as taken away; as she sees him standing bodily before her, her whole excitement pours itself at His feet, and in the one call, '*Ραββουνί* ('Rabboni'), she clings to him with vehemence, as though she would say, 'Now I will not leave thee!' Thus would she lie, glad and secure in his presence, and in possession of him. She understands what the Lord says to her, at least far enough to know that she must leave him. But she has now become calm and strong, and certain of her Master. She goes away in silent obedience, with joyful heart, to be the first messenger of the risen one. Thus she, by nature excitable and tender to the highest degree, has become, through the excitement of the greatest pain, calm, secure, and strong. Yet her soul, before and after, belonged entirely to Him, whom alone she had to thank for the new life in which she was blessed.

i. The Two Sisters at Bethany.

One of the two sisters at Bethany resembles Mary Magdalene. These sisters are among the most individually sketched, or rather the most individually prominent, forms in the gospel. How characteristically they stand apart! Martha busies herself in and out of the house, while we see Mary sitting within sunk in grief. Hence the former learns first of Jesus' coming. She can control herself to enter into conversation with Him; while Mary, when she hears the news, rushes to Him, throws herself at his feet, and can only bring that one word of woe from her lips. Martha, blazing up quickly in hope, soon lets it sink back again, and entirely loses it at the grave, when she thinks of the four days. Mary, on the contrary, with difficulty shakes herself free from her grief, but then stedfastly continues calm and submissive. In like manner, at the supper, Martha waits upon the Master with joyful officiousness, while Mary displays to him the thankfulness of her love by an act of the greatest sacrifice and devotion.

It is said of Martha, as well as of her sister, that the Lord loved her,—a word which, aside from these sisters, is only used expressly of that disciple who has received his fixed title from it.[1] Relying on this, they could well send a message to Jesus calling on him to come. The message is really meant in the sense of an appeal, xi. 3, ἴδε ὃν φιλεῖς ('he whom thou lovest'), though it does not bear that form. The sisters are sufficiently acquainted with the love of Jesus to know that the mere telling is enough. Nor does his failure to come make them think otherwise. For εἰ ἦς ὧδε ('if thou hadst been here') is not intended as a reproach. It is only the lament that he was not there, and presupposes that he had not been able to be there. But the less the sisters now expect Jesus' coming, the more his unexpected presence excites in Martha's soul the swift hope which expresses itself, half-questioning, in the words of ver. 22. The hope sinks as quickly as it flamed up, for Jesus does not seem to favour it. His reply sounded to Martha like a reference to the hope of the future. Jesus intends it pedagogically. He wishes to free Martha from her nearest wish. She shall find her sufficiency in him alone.

He introduces in Martha's case a mental process. As for Mary, he can leave the necessary process of pain and of belief to the inward movement and self-mediation of her feelings. Mary sinks at Jesus' feet, she herself is so steeped in her pain. But she absorbs belief on Jesus at the same time with her grief. And these two, this grief and her belief, once applied to each other, mediate with each other. Thus belief changes the pain first to quiet sorrow, then into calmness and silent submission, and finally into expectation. Martha must be led by another way, for she had the whole time, if I may so say, lived not into the pain, but out from it. Therefore Jesus tries to lead her completely into his person, so that out from Him she may win the true hope. Stier's view of her confession, xi. 27, is at fault. She did not wish to settle the thing quickly, and for that reason speak out all she knew of Jesus. She rather dwells upon the believing contemplation and exaltation of Jesus. Only she could not yet find the way from Him to her brother. This she was the less able to do

[1] Naturally Mark x. 21 does not come into consideration here.

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the more her belief and her joy upon that which she had in Jesus moved itself exclusively in the essential life of the spirit. It was to this she thought herself directed by Jesus' words, to the true life, for whose assurance the death of the body is indifferent. Here we have a clue to the meaning of her words at the grave, ver. 39. She does not say it from pure lack of belief. She had become certain of the essential life; and before it the importance of the bodily life and her previous wish for a bodily resurrection recede. Jesus' reproach is, that she does not draw the necessary conclusion from the one to the other, from the personal spiritual life to the natural life. The word δόξα ('glory'), ver. 40, points to this. She received and bore away her brother in renewed bodily life as a beautiful addition to the essential gift given in Jesus to believers—the gift of essential life.

To Mary, on the other hand, the resurrection has become an emblem of the true life in Christ. She had heard nothing of the instruction Martha received. Jesus had left her entirely to her grief. Her belief should itself find the beginning of the hope. She goes the opposite way to her sister, passing from the death of her brother to his bodily resurrection, and from that point she learned how to understand Jesus. Hence Jesus' deed is to her an emblem of the essential thing given in him. Nor is the recognition of this merely one accepted in belief; it is one which grew from belief. That causes the heartiness and thoughtfulness of her thanks. The act by which she expresses her thankfulness, her devotion to Jesus' person, shown in wiping his feet with her hair, and the blessedness of the feelings herein uttered,—all these can only be understood when we recognise that a blissful secret as to Jesus' person has been revealed to her on the ground of that resurrection—namely this, that in Him is concluded the essential blessed life. Thus the quick vivacity of Martha accepts in joyful belief what Jesus preaches, while the deep contemplativeness of Mary progresses from belief to ever wider, happier knowledge. She is like Jesus' mother in this, that revolving the one thing in her heart, that thing develops itself to a recognition of the essence of Jesus' person. Mary, however, lacks the clear, intelligent eye of the Virgin; Martha rather partakes of that.

j. The Samaritan Woman.

Among the women of our gospel belongs, moreover, the Samaritan woman of Sychar. The fact that she has already her sixth husband, who really is not her husband, and that she can hardly have lost all the first five by death, displays to us a light, frivolous character. So, too, her speech has a peculiar levity and pride. At the very first it stirs her pride that Jesus, a Jew, should desire from her a drink. She must first know what moves him to do that; she keeps him waiting till he tells her. Nor does Jesus drink. Jesus' answer, and in general his words, make her indeed more earnest, or at least attentive. Finally, she begs him herself for water. Yet in this request there is still a jesting tone: 'she would then like quite well to have it.' Behind this external manner, however, is something different, on account of which Jesus honours her with the conversation. This is the great attention of her thoughts. For when He holds up before her her frivolous life, she no longer parries, but yields.

It is true the case would be different if they were right who think she wished to escape this burdensome conversation by springing off to the question of worship disputed by the Jews and Samaritans. Against such a view compare the explanation later. She willingly confesses that He has revealed her life, ver. 29. She accepts his words, and takes them to heart. For that very reason the προσκυνεῖν ('worship') is important to her. The question as to the right place, includes the question as to the right prayer in general. She is concerned as to confession and forgiveness of sin. From this point forth the development of her knowledge goes swiftly forwards. The words she utters as to the future Messiah are words of joy and anticipation, ver. 25. For that she will gladly give up Gerizim and Samaritan belief. When now Jesus confesses to her that He is the Messiah, she has already reached such a point as to believe it on His word. She leaves the water-pot in her joyful haste, and proclaims in the city: 'The Messiah is here!' We see that in all the frivolity of her life she had maintained a sincere mind. On account of her sincerity she receives grace. Among all the characters of the gospel history, perhaps she has the most sanguine nature.

k. Nicodemus.

The connection in which we are told about the Samaritan woman is put in contrast to what precedes, and especially to the conversation with Nicodemus. Vain attempts have been made to explain his nocturnal visit in other ways than that in which it must be taken. They have said, among other suggestions, that he desired to speak to Jesus without being interrupted. At the burial, when the evangelist, xix. 39, names him as *ὁ ἐλθὼν πρὸσ αὐτὸν νυκτὸσ τὸ πρῶτον* ('which at the first came to Jesus by night'), the intention is to contrast his present open appearance with his first nocturnal coming to Jesus. Now he does not fear to take part in the burial of Jesus, and thus gives an open acknowledgment of Jesus; but then, the choice of the night that first time was determined by fear of others.

This contrast is destroyed by those who charge it likewise to fear of compromising himself that he did not go to Pilate, and only later made common cause with Joseph of Arimathea.[1] But that is going too far, and is not confirmed but opposed by the account. It is quite conceivable that he only heard of it later, or that he wished to prepare the spices, while Joseph secured permission to take away and bury. If, from fear of his companions, he only came to Jesus secretly, still he did come. He, the member of the council, came to the unlearned; and if he did not recognise Him as the one He really was, he at least recognised Him as a teacher sent by God. We see, too, that the conversation was not in vain, but continued to work in his soul, for on a later occasion he dared to take the part of Jesus in the high council, vii. 50. Although he clothes his words as a speech in defence of the law, they are nevertheless at heart a defence of Jesus. It is true he does not yet venture to defend Him openly, but in that innocent form. We perceive how slowly his knowledge and his belief developed. Moreover, he is too closely interwoven with his companions to be able to free himself so easily from their society.

In this double respect the Samaritan woman forms a contrast to him. The inner union with the society of his

[1] Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, 3d ed., Leipzig 1848, vol. ii. p. 152.

companions expresses itself also in that οἴδαμεν ('we know'), iii. 2; expresses itself only the more, if, as is likely, he there said more than exactly accorded with the truth. He cannot conceive of himself as standing alone with his conviction, freed from that society. Yet, however slow his development, however regardful of his party and his colleagues his behaviour throughout, however shy his action in the council, and however hard it was for him both to enter on new thoughts, as the conversation shows, and to free himself from the Pharisaic society,—he meant it all honestly. This appears by the circumstance, that though he is silenced by the contemptuous reply, vii. 52, he does not suffer himself to be led from the way which his thoughts and the development of his convictions had entered upon. Slow and late, still they did ripen, and then he had dismissed all fear. Phlegmatic as he seems to have been, he was an honest nature, and strove earnestly to gain a decided moral conviction as to that which concerned him religiously.

l. Caiaphas.

In contrast with the honesty of Nicodemus, anxious above all for moral conviction, though it permits this to develop and confirm itself in all calmness, the character of Caiaphas stands out most significantly. The evangelist gives us but one sentence, xi. 49, 50, as a clue to the study of his character; but this is so striking, that we can well draw a picture from it. The way in which he contemptuously chides the members of the Sanhedrim for their want of judgment, seeing that they understand nothing and do not know how to find the correct standpoint, permits us to see that his was a one-sided intellectual nature. As a man surpassing the others in intelligence, and doubtless fitted to assume the first place, he was domineering. He did not hesitate to make the rest feel how much farther he could see than all of them. When he seems to counsel for the good of the people, ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ κτλ ('for the people,' etc.), he no less than the others, see ver. 48, nay more than the others, is thinking of dominion. Where that came into account he was heartless; a human life was worth little to him. Nor did he believe in immortality. His words

waft to us the cold breath of a prudent but a heartless tyrant, to whom men are only means.

m. Pilate.

How thoroughly distinct is the Roman procurator, Pilate, from this unfeeling intellectual coldness and decision of the Jewish high priest! If the priest knows no conscience because of his decision of will, the procurator acts without conscience because of his weakness of will. He was not utterly lacking in conscience. He perceives clearly that Jesus is unjustly accused, and he would like to help Him in every way. Yet, if that be not possible, it does not after all make so much difference to him if he sacrifices Him to the hate of the Jews. He lacks force of conscientiousness. It is easy to perceive the source of this moral weakness. The trait of contemptuously despising everything which looks like enthusiasm, shows a man worn out and sick of life. Thus his kindness has become weakness, his power momentary arbitrariness, his Roman pride insulting scorn, and his freedom of conviction has become, on the one hand, contempt of all religious belief, and on the other, superstition. His contempt for the Jews, from his first sentence, xviii. 31, to the inscription on the cross, pervades all his words and actions. The man of the world, caring for nothing, appears in the scornful tone with which he replies to Jesus' enthusiasm for the truth, xviii. 38.

Yet, to the degree in which he reckons all religious belief as decided folly, to that degree is he superstitious. Gradually the personality of Jesus impresses him as somewhat uncommon. It seems almost unearthly to him. And finally, when he hears Him called the Son of God, he has grown so fearful that he would gladly have nothing more to do with Him. However, he speedily is ashamed of this fear again, and again plays the lord and master over Jesus, not simply to frighten Him, if possible, and thus to destroy the appearance of dignity this enthusiast gives himself, but also to drive out of himself, or at least to stupify, his superstitious fear. In this way the fear of the evil conscience completes the arbitrary mode of action of weakness. This arbitrariness of weakness, together with that

contemptuous feature of weariness of life, is the most characteristic thing which the account permits us to recognise in him.

n. Judas.

There must be a word about Judas the traitor, that gloomy, nocturnal shape of gospel history. Salvater found in him, in spite of his 'baseness,' 'yet apostolic greatness.'[1] Few will join him in that. And fewer still will say with Schmidt,[2] that he was a brave man. Nevertheless, it is not right to find pure evil personified in him.[3] In a spirited lecture, Meier[4] sketched him as a 'sinner on a grand style' of typical importance, who, directly by his intercourse with Jesus, developed himself to 'demoniacal hate of Christ.' To me he seems to have been a very complicated character. The good emotions, which were not foreign to him, he soon took into the service of his base selfishness. Purposely deceiving himself, he feigned all kinds of admissible reasons for his evil will. Thus he consciously wove himself more and more in the net of self-deceit, until he was no longer in a condition to find the way back to truth.

The fact that he followed Jesus shows that he was not wanting in thought and inward sympathy for the hope of Israel. But it was a selfish thought with which he desired the kingdom of the Messiah, and he failed to cleanse the soil of his heart from the vile weed. He was of the opinion that he could enter the Messianic kingdom with an impure heart; and while seeking the Messianic salvation, he at the same time sought to satisfy the evil lusts of his heart. He thought he could thus unite God and the world. He was not concerned about the person of Jesus and inward personal communion with the Saviour, but simply about the material good things of the Messianic kingdom. When, however, on the one hand, Jesus described the way to participation therein as purely moral, and the condition as unreserved and personal com-

[1] See Niemeyer, *Charakteristiken*, i. p. 86.

[2] Quoted by Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, Leipzig 1847, vol. i. p. 636.

[3] Daub, *Judas Iscarioth oder das Böse in Verhältniss zum Guten*, Heidelberg 1816, 1tes Heft, p. 17 f.

[4] Meier, *Judas Iscarioth, ein biblisches Charakterbild. Vortrag.*, 13 März 1872, 2d ed., Dresden.

munion with Him, and, on the other hand, public opinion turned against Him, Jesus must have become inwardly foreign to him and at last repugnant, and he also have doubted as to Jesus' cause; see below on vi. 64.

His words at xii. 5 declare likewise a complicated internal constitution. It is not mere love of gold he expresses, but dislike of the waste, as it seemed to him, which Jesus allowed, and which increased his feeling against Jesus. Yet at the same time the thought arose, how this could have been turned to use. For his was a calculating mind, with practical talent, it is true,—whence, perhaps, the charge of the purse came to be entrusted to him,—but unfeeling and selfish. When he had once inwardly estranged himself from Jesus, who he had hoped would set up the kingdom of God outwardly, in an entirely different way from what now appeared, the personality of Jesus could no longer remove the evil impression of that occurrence in him. Its truth had no more power over him, whose inward insincerity had constantly grown less fit for the truth.

Thus it came to pass that he gradually accustomed himself to the thought of treason, and that this thought, in the self-deceit wherein he lived, lost for him the frightful character it must have had for every one else. And as Jesus called upon him at the last supper to do quickly what he was about to do, Jesus himself seemed to wish it. What pretext he made for himself—perchance that he would thereby only force Jesus to come forward with decision from His hesitation, and if He be really the Messiah prove Himself as such openly; if He be not the Messiah, then by the inevitable catastrophe incur a just condemnation—who can tell us? That he thereby at the same time gained an earthly advantage, *that*, he pretended to himself, was only a secondary consideration which he took advantage of by the way.

But then, when he saw that Jesus with free devotion wished to die, and thus put to shame his whole cunning plan,—when he saw how in these very last moments the moral greatness and purity of Jesus came to light as never before,—his soul was struck with terror at what he had done, and at what he had to fear from the judgment of God. Nothing was more natural for a character so entangled in self-deceit than to try to save itself from the internal horror of the judgment by anni-

hilation. Thus he departed from earth with a great self-deception, just as his whole life had been versed in like deception.

Conclusion as to the Personages of the Gospel.

The decisive point of these researches lies in the following consideration. The preceding discussion has probably demonstrated sufficiently that the single figures, individually enough, are not so much depicted, but rather stand before the evangelist's eyes. Evidently he does not purpose to characterize these separate forms. This appears clearly from the way in which the mention of them is woven into the whole exactly where it is necessary, or rather in the way in which the few words necessary to the context are woven into the whole. The method of our gospel thus differs utterly from—say a novel, in which the figures are the thing intended, and it is easy to see that they are meant to be characterized. Here, on the contrary, the characteristic marks are but by chance. It is unmistakable that the personages in their individuality stand living before the eyes of the relator, so that he copies the various features and words from their bodily image, and does not construct such an image. This is the cause that the scattered traits combine so easily together in a harmonious picture.

(3.) *The Disciples of Jesus.*

It has been said that it was not possible for the disciples to have been in reality such as they are portrayed to be in the fourth gospel. There is often entirely too much want of intelligence in their speeches. This must have been invented for a literary aim, perhaps as a lever to aid the progress and development of a thought or of a discourse. The question then is, whether the complete picture of the disciples in general, which our gospel does not so much sketch as permit us to gain from scattered particulars, be one in itself harmonious, and one historically possible and probable. As far as the latter point were not the case, the gospel itself could not pass for historical; and conversely, the latter may be accepted to the degree in which the former proves true.

After Jesus had at first gathered separate ones, six of them,

around him, i. 35 ff., he later chose twelve as the most intimate circle of his disciples. They appear as a definitely limited number, directly as the twelve in our gospel, as well as in the synoptists, vi. 67, xx. 24. Jesus says himself that not they had chosen him, but he them, xv. 16. That is to say, it was not entirely a mere self-decision on their part which had made them his disciples, but a self-testifying come to them from Jesus, which they then indeed must have received and accepted. That, of course, acknowledges that the self-witness of Jesus, which they received at first, and which decided their posture towards him, could become their free property only with time. They had thus a development to pass through. That which they had to work over was rich in meaning. It was in a great part foreign to the other contents of their thoughts, by which they had to mediate the new experience and knowledge, and which this experience and knowledge must re-form. Hence we can but expect that the appropriation of what they received progressed but slowly. Nor can we wonder that Jesus at the end still says to them, xvi. 12, that he really had much more to tell them, but that they could not bear it yet. This, however, has, as a rule, been found less singular than what we light upon during their intercourse with Jesus. Here it is said there is much that is impossible, much that stands in contradiction to their confession of belief, or at least that hardly comports with it.

When those two disciples, upon the word of the Baptist, follow Jesus at once and remain with him (i. 37 ff.)—when Andrew and Philip say of Jesus εὑρήκαμεν ('we have found,' 41, 45), i. 42, 46—and when Nathanael testifies to Him as one well known to him from the Old Testament, i. 50 (49), —we perceive that all those whom Jesus here gathers about himself had stood in expectation. They were of those in whom the appearance of the Baptist had excited vividly a strong hope of the promised one. When, then, they become acquainted with Jesus, the course of affairs cannot be that they perceive separate sides of his character, and so with time are brought to acknowledge that he is the one promised. On the contrary, this acknowledgment is either present at once or not at all. And they express it with the designations familiar to them from the Old Testament: Messiah, Son of God, King

of Israel. In these terms they did not name particular things about Him, but Him as a whole. Indeed, this certainty was not wrought by detailed teaching, but by the impression of the whole personality of Jesus. It was thus a united impression from him that they received and bore in themselves, a complete acknowledgment of the Son of God, yet still in the form of an impression, still to be unfolded and developed.

From this point the course they had to take follows by internal necessity. It is not that a new related point of recognition is joined to one previously acquired, and a decision is made as to whether it agrees with the old one or not, but that which lay shut up in the first acknowledgment unfolds itself by gradual growth and change. In such a process it could well happen that single thoughts and expressions occurred which stood in contradiction to that united acknowledgment and its necessary consequences, yet without their perceiving the contradiction. The whole in them was still in the form of indefiniteness, and hence they could not at once see throughout all that it contained. Should Jesus in such a case have said to them that this was a wrong thought or word, and that only such and such a thing comported with the certainty of the Son of God? Were it so, the truth would never have become familiar to them and their most private property, which they could impart to others with the force of indubitable certainty as most thoroughly their own mental life. Were it so, the truth would have been like a garment put upon them, and would have had no moral value. Their acknowledgment, on the contrary, was to have the value of a moral act.

This explains the fact that Philip, though he recognizes in Him the one promised in the Old Testament, still calls Him the son of Joseph, i. 46, without perceiving the contradiction in which his words moved. The following up of the first complete recognition could only gradually finish its consequences, and correct extraneous thoughts. The meaning of such a saying as that Jesus came out from God, was doubtless understood by the disciples in time. Hence they put Jesus and God directly together, and comprehend it perfectly, when Jesus unites himself in one with the Father. But a further step was, that they should have and see the Father in him. Philip therefore may well desire to see the Father, xiv. 8.

It could not escape them that something else must follow, that the present appearance of Jesus was not the final appearance of Jehovah which the Old Testament bade them look for. Thus it was not strange that they separated the appearance of Jesus and the revelation of God, which they should have beheld united; or that they still awaited the assurance of the revelation in glory, which they should have found in Jesus' inspired personality.

From this standpoint many another case of not understanding, or of misunderstanding, on the part of the disciples is to be explained. They had from the first recognised and hailed in Jesus the fulfilment of the Old Testament. The belief expressed in their first confessions is no slender one. If we consider a moment how differently the image of Jesus presented itself to them from what they expected according to the Old Testament, we shall perceive what a mighty impression the personality of Jesus must have made to triumph internally over all seeming contradictions. The more they expected and sought to see the image they had formed for themselves from the Old Testament realized in the progress of Jesus' life, so much the more must strange things come before them which they could not explain. They had, indeed, won the main point. The inspired personality of Jesus is to them the essential fulfilment of the promised Son of God. But the course of his history and self-manifestation did not come up to their expectations. Hence they do not understand Jesus' discourses concerning his departure. The Old Testament seemed to them to point to an utterly different end for the ways of God than Jesus appeared to them to speak of. Thomas therefore does not understand His words as to going away, xiv. 5. He can conceive of neither way nor end. Shall not the Messiah remain to set up the kingdom? The Jews do not know how he can speak of a going away, vii. 35; and just as little do the disciples understand what it means, that after a little while they shall not see him, xvi. 17, 18.

They are puzzled by the fact that a new period seems to intervene before the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy,—a period of which they know nothing from the Old Testament, since, indeed, they believed and knew that the period prophesied had begun. A like case appears in the words of

Judas, not Iscariot, why does He not reveal himself to the world? (xiv. 22). That was what the Old Testament led them to expect. And so the disciple asks, What is the matter that Jesus does not wish to reveal himself to the world, but only to them? Upon this, Jesus reminds him that His revelation is connected with moral conditions on the part of men. The actual behaviour of the world towards his person furnishes the facts sought, the causes for this modification of the fulfilment of the Old Testament. That question, therefore, is not to be charged to pure lack of understanding,[1] but to good understanding, and by no means to the 'earthly Messianic hopes of the Jews,'[2] but to correct knowledge of the Old Testament. Thus are many other sayings to be explained, wherewith the disciples are reproached. We must remember that the disciples approached the deeds and words of Jesus from the Old Testament.

To-day, indeed, it is much easier to discover the fulfilment of the Old Testament in Jesus than it was for the disciples in that day. For in between lies a fact which throws light on the Old Testament, namely, the glorification of Jesus. After that, the case was also quite different for the disciples. Our evangelist therefore repeatedly lays stress on the fact, that after Jesus' resurrection, and hence because of it, they had recognised, or in general had understood, speech and act of Jesus as fulfilment of the Old Testament; see ii. 21, 22, xii. 16, xx. 9. Before that, above all, they can positively comprehend nothing connected with his death. And when they suspect it, it makes them sad, because it seems to thwart their Old Testament hope; see xvi. 6. As little can they understand what Jesus says about the coming of the Spirit and about his presence in the Spirit, since both are conditioned by his death and his glorification; see vi. 62, vii. 39, xvi. 12. So far, therefore, from being surprised at their not understanding, and at their misunderstanding, we should the rather have been surprised if the case were not thus.

[1] Even Lampe, *Commentarius evangelii secundum Joannem*, Amsterdam 1726, vol. iii. p. 169.

[2] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium Johannis*, 3d ed., Bonn 1843, vol. ii. p. 615.

It is true that a later writer would not have invented such things. The facts of the death or resurrection of Jesus, which stood before his soul and determined his circle of thoughts, would have driven far from him doubts and questions, which were only possible and fit previous to the occurrence of those facts. These utterances of the disciples are only explicable on the supposition that the evangelist wrote from historical memory.

The Disciples' Belief.

When we consider what our gospel further states with regard to the disciples, it should, first of all, be emphasized, what an act of belief their becoming and remaining disciples of Jesus of Nazareth really was. Hearing his words and agreeing to them is one thing. Closing one's previous life and following Him unconditionally to live only for Him, is a very different thing.

Think how little the appearance of Jesus corresponded to the image of the Messiah in their thoughts; how little in the course of His life this their mental conception gave signs of realization, and the promised kingdom signs of approach. Think in what slavish dependence upon his spiritual rulers the Jew was accustomed to stand as to his religious thoughts and judgments, and then see how the Galileans array themselves in such trenchant contrast to these rulers, and how sure, therefore, they must have been of their cause. On the other hand, think how much in Jesus' life and actions could have been urged with apparent reason by a Jew as contradictory to the letter of the law and to the promise, and see how they must have maintained for themselves their convictions against all these doubts. Think how Jesus often spoke directly against the thoughts of the hearers and the disciples' thoughts, against the possibility of understanding as it seemed, in hard words, difficult to bear and even repelling, vi. 60 f. When we consider these things, their act of belief remains equally great and admirable. We can easily perceive from it what an utterly peculiar impression Jesus' personality must have made on them,—an impression seizing upon their own personality in its innermost life, raising them above all else, and overcoming all else.

If they thought of the opposition they thereby assumed towards their nation and their rulers, and how they, having given up their former life for the sake of this belief, had been chosen by Jesus to begin and to rule over the new church of God, it is not strange that at times lofty ideas came upon them, and they needed to be reminded of humility, xiii. 12 ff. And when Jesus seemed to be coming to an end, and the cause to be failing on which they had staked their lives, it is no wonder that they needed to be strengthened in belief, xiv. 1 ff., confirmed in the communion of love with Jesus, xv. 1 ff., comforted and calmed as to the future, xvi. 1 ff., and raised in prayer to the blessed certainty and perception of communion with God, xvii.

What else should they have done at Jesus' arrest than what they did do? Jesus had forbidden the sword, had declared that he must and would drink the cup, and had secured them free retreat. Should they then have gone into danger against his will? What happened, and what was to happen, they could not comprehend. It confused them. Jesus had spoken of a coming again, of their being comforted and caused to rejoice. They had understood it just far enough to wait and see if something will not happen, and so they cleave together in confusion, fear, and weak hope. The fact that they carried over into their communion with Jesus the views of their earlier life, and did not at once change them, is only a clearer mark of reality; this appears in their surprise that he, a rabbi, should talk with a woman, iv. 27, or in their arguing from blindness to peculiar sin, ix. 2.

(4.) *The Jews.*

The way in which the Jews are spoken of in the fourth gospel was made the subject of a keen discussion by Fischer.[1] His work contained the germ of Baur's well-known treatise upon the composition of our gospel, as Baur acknowledged.[2]

[1] Fischer, 'Ueber den Ausdruck *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι* im Evangelium Johannis. Ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik desselben,' *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1840, 2 Heft, pp. 96–133.

[2] Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 317.

Hilgenfeld also used it for his view.[1] Fischer's conclusion was double: first, that as the description was so uncertain and general, an eye-witness, a native of Palestine, could not possibly have written it, and therefore that the gospel represented the later Gentile-Christian standpoint; and secondly, that since the Jews could not possibly have been so narrow and unbelieving as they were here depicted, the gospel revealed clearly the purpose to decry them strongly. Hence our Gospel lacks strict historic faithfulness.[2]

First of all, we cannot overlook the fact that the evangelist is perfectly acquainted with the distinction between the Pharisees and the multitude (ὄχλος), and, upon the whole, presents it exactly as the synoptists do.

Pharisees.

He names the Pharisees, i. 24, at the embassy to the Baptist; iv. 1, on occasion of Jesus' activity in Judea; viii. 13, as contradicting his self-witness; xii. 42, as a hindrance to open confession of him; xviii. 3, in union with the ἀρχιερεῖς ('chief priests') at the preparations for the arrest; and he names these priests or the leaders, vii. 26, 48, xii. 42. They appear everywhere as the decided enemies of Jesus, who aim at His destruction. There are, nevertheless, believers among them. For Nicodemus was not the only one to turn to Jesus. Many of the rulers secretly believed in him, yet without earnestly following up their belief. In numbers, however, as well as in importance for the development of the history, they vanish in comparison with the unbelievers. Thus the Pharisees, as well as the Sanhedrim, taken as a whole, are unbelieving and hostilely disposed. Two reasons are given for their being thus minded, and for their losing in consequence the knowledge of the truth offered in Christ; on the one hand, in observing the letter of the law, they practise an obedience which keeps them from the true obedience of belief, v. 16, vii. 23, ix. 24; and, on the other hand, in their knowledge of

[1] Hilgenfeld, *Das Evangelium und die Briefe Johannis nach ihrem Lehrbegriff dargestellt*, Halle 1849, p. 193 ff.

[2] Fischer, *ut supra*, p. 133. Compare on this also, besides the commentaries, especially Bleek, *Beiträge zur Evangelienkritik*, Berlin 1846, p. 245 ff.

the letter of law and prophecy they possess a seeming knowledge which keeps them from the proper recognition of the truth in Christ, ix. 39–41. And they not only allow themselves thus to be restrained from the proper course, but even believe that they must consider both the things named to be contrary to the revelation of God in the Spirit; see ix. 29. In all this, John's portraiture of the Pharisees and leaders agrees entirely with the synoptists'.

The Multitude.

The seventh chapter gives the character of the multitude (ὄχλοσ) most distinctly. It wavers in its judgment of Jesus, ver. 12. It does not know the plans of its leaders, ver. 20. Many from it believe on Jesus for the sake of his miracles, ver. 31 f. They take Him for a prophet, ver. 40, or even for Christ himself, ver. 41, while others deny it. The acceptance Christ finds at their hands is at least so great that the servants of the Sanhedrim do not venture to seize him, ver. 44 ff., while that body in turn utters the curse upon the people, ver. 49. It is true that the people, not from Jerusalem, especially the Galileans, form the majority of these favourably inclined persons. It is especially mentioned of them, iv. 45, and we only read of this ὄχλοσ ('multitude') at feasts; see xii. 12, ὄχλοσ πολὺσ ὁ ἐλθὼν εἰσ τὴν ἑορτήν ('much people that were come to the feast'). The Jerusalemites throughout are more hostile, or at least more unbelieving, towards Jesus, vii. 25 ff.

Yet the favour of the masses, as to which John's gospel agrees with the synoptists, is as worthless morally in one as in the other. Sensible miracles are from the very beginning the reason for their approval of Jesus, ii. 23 ff., and they constantly demand such miracles as a basis or as food for their belief; see iv. 48, vi. 30, vii. 3, 31. In this point the people and the Pharisees agree; see iii. 2. It is the well-known miracle-seeking character of this nation. They wish for a Messiah whose uncommon superiority should serve as a delight and as an object of national vanity. They do not wish one who will make moral claims upon them, demand belief as a moral act, and expect them to accept the shape of the new order of affairs just as it presents itself to them; see vi.

14, 15. In this respect the pseudo-John would have hit the character of the people exactly. But they say that the use of the word *Ἰουδαῖοι* ('Jews'), and the description given of the Jews, show only too plainly the lack of historical vision in the account, and the impossibility of its correctness.

Ἰουδαῖοι.

The allegation that the Jews are only presented as unbelieving, is simply untrue. The Jews wonder at Jesus' power in the Scriptures, seeing that he had not pursued a course of study in them, vii. 15. In xii. 9, 'much people of the Jews' are spoken of, who, at least from curiosity, wished to see Jesus and Lazarus. And stronger still, here in xii. 11 it is remarked that many of the Jews believed on Jesus. In viii. 31 he says to the Jews who believed on him, 'If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed.' They had therefore believed, not only in miracles, but also upon Jesus' word, and had thus made the beginning for a true belief. Nevertheless, by addressing them with *ὑμεῖς* ('ye') he distinguishes them from the others (see in contrast, xv. 7); and these others, indirectly addressed through the *ὑμεῖς*, then take up the conversation antagonistically. The latter, moreover, set themselves up as the true representatives of the nation, as the real Jews; and, contrasted with their zeal, the believers vanish as individuals who have separated themselves from the mass. This leads us to the evangelist's meaning.

Although individual, and many individual Jews believed in Christ, they still do not cease to be individuals. The Jewish nation, as such, is unbelieving and hostile-minded. And when the evangelist speaks of *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι* ('the Jews'), he intends as a rule thereby to denote the nation in this its posture of opposition to Jesus, as it has fixed itself historically. We shall therefore not merely say with Hug,[1] that he speaks of his nation 'as of a third nation, foreign to the readers,' and that he has respect to foreigners in his book, and puts himself in their place. Nor shall we agree with Ebrard,[2]

[1] Hug, *Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 4th ed., Stuttgart and Tübingen 1847, vol. ii. p. 215.

[2] Ebrard, *Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte*, 3d ed.,

that, in view of the heathen readers of the gospel, the Jewish nation in the gross are called *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*, and that the use of the term assumed by Fischer does not occur at all.

This view serves to explain certain general facts: the evangelist's speaking of a feast of the Jews, ii. 13, v. 1, vi. 4, vii. 2; Jesus' saying, 'salvation is of the Jews,' iv. 22,—a passage which is certainly sufficient of itself to destroy the exclusiveness of Fischer's statement; Nicodemus' being called 'a ruler of the Jews,' iii. 1, though he is afterwards named 'a master of Israel,' ver. 10; and Pilate's writing 'the king of the Jews,' xix. 19, compare xix. 3. It also accounts for such passages as vii. 15, viii. 31, xii. 9, and for the evangelist's ability to speak of the people as a whole.

But the evangelist does more than this. The word strikes deeper, and has a peculiar colouring. In the first place, as a general thing, *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι* designates rather the Jews living in Judea, and especially in Jerusalem, in distinction from the Galileans; see i. 19, iii. 25, etc. The reason is near at hand; this was the central point of Israel. Here, moreover, we find the opposition to Jesus much greater and more decided than elsewhere. In the next place, *Ἰουδαῖοι* is frequently used where we are clearly to understand by it the leaders of the nation, the members of the Sanhedrim; see i. 19, ii. 18, ix. 16–22, xviii. 12, 14. The evangelist could have named them by their special titles, since he is well acquainted with the 'chief priests' and 'rulers,' vii. 26, 45, 48, xi. 57, xii. 42. He names them, however, with the general term, to betoken them as representatives of the whole nation. Here in the Sanhedrim was the focus of the opposition to Jesus. The posture of the heads of Israel determined the posture and relation of the nation as a whole towards Christ, towards the gospel, and towards the church of Jesus.

Although, then, so many individual Jews joined themselves to Christ and his church, that makes no difference in the essential state of the case. It was due to those who were the proper representatives of the nation, that the Jews as a whole took up a hostile position towards Christ. Whether, therefore, the nation as a whole be meant, or a single representative

Frankfort-on-the-Main 1868, p. 1128. Bleek, *Beiträge zur Evangelienkritik*, Berlin 1846, p. 249, takes a like view.

or character-giving portion thereof, the evangelist always says *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*.[1] The party of the Sanhedrim, for instance, send to the Baptist, i. 19, or ask Jesus for his legitimation, ii. 18, or agree together to shut out the confessors of Jesus from the synagogues, ix. 22, or send their servants with Judas against Jesus, xviii. 12, or treat with Pilate, xviii. 31. All this is quite as clearly the conduct of the nation as a whole, as when some call the man healed at the pool of Bethesda to account for alleged breaking of the Sabbath, v. 10, or others oppose and murmur at Jesus in the synagogue at Capernaum, vi. 41, 52, or call Him a Samaritan and possessed with a devil, viii. 48, 52, or at another time make preparations to stone Him, x. 31, or report to the Pharisees the raising of Lazarus, xi. 45, 46.

Act who may, in all cases we find represented the characteristic posture of the Jewish nation towards Christ, which determined its historical position with regard to the church of the New Covenant. Hence it is that the evangelist in such cases writes without distinction *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*, because he intends not merely to give a passing note, not merely to relate something, but to characterize in the particular the appearance of the whole, in the first the preparation for the last decision. Even in cases like iii. 25 it is not a colourless style, as has been said, which leads him to speak of a Jew without any nearer definition: he meant by that very word to give the contestant the right colour; he wished to characterize him as one who belonged to that community.

This designation, therefore, does not indicate a want of the vision of the actual circumstances. It is rather written directly from true vision and from the actual reality. It is written by one who saw and experienced how the Jewish nation, as a whole, estranged itself from Christ and his church; written at a time in which Israel, separated from the church of the New Covenant, stood over against it; and written for readers who knew of the nation of the Jews only outside of the church of Christ.

The evangelist intended to write on behalf of belief, and therefore about belief, xx. 31. It follows that he must also

[1] See Lampe, on John i. 19, *Commentarius evangelii secundum Joannem*, Amsterdam 1724, vol. i. p. 405.

speak of unbelief, of want of belief, in the person of Christ. But the Jews are the representatives of unbelief. They have gone far off from Christ, while his preaching comes near to the Jews. The evangelist shows how it came to pass that the nation, as a whole, took this position. He traces their course from the first utterances of the God-hostile disposition, which made itself known in that bearing, onwards to the last decisive steps. The gospel shows in this very thing its historical character, only placed in a definite point of view. It is not the historical character of a chronicle, or of a collection of notes, or even of a mere biography, but that of a book which purposes to present a history of salvation, and to relate all things with this in view. We can judge by this how incorrect Fischer's statement is, that the evangelist writes thus because for his aim—the display of the revelation of the glory of the Logos—he needed a contrast, and used the Jews for it,[1] or rather abused them; and again, that no one can mistake the open purpose to degrade the Jews as much as possible.[2] If it is impossible that this nation should have been so unbelieving,[3] how did it come to pass that they killed Jesus, persecuted the Christians, and excluded the Christian church from their national society?

But, says Fischer, it is impossible that they should have been so 'inconceivably narrow,'[4] and in this point at least the evangelist has sinned against historical truth: the misunderstanding of Jesus' utterances, which is attributed to the Johannean Jews, is too glaring and odd.[5]

Fischer, however, does not deny that the undercurrent of their conduct, and therefore also the reason for their failures to understand, was unbelief, and that this unbelief was at the bottom of the various manifestations of, and excuses for, their hostility to Jesus.[6] The fact that this unbelief was a not willing, is stated by Jesus too often not to be acknowledged, v. 40, viii. 44. Yet it is also said: 'they cannot,' v. 44, viii. 43, xii. 39. In the last passage the 'cannot' is made directly dependent on the presupposition of the hardening of heart. In spite of that, Fischer[7] bases on this very passage

[1] Fischer, *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1840, Heft 2, p. 128.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 133. [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.* pp. 124, 133.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 124. [6] *Ibid.* pp. 108–113. [7] *Ibid.* p. 117 f.

his declaration that the words are used in the sense of determining, so that the 'cannot' would be the reason for the 'will not.' He owns that such a sense makes the evangelist contradict himself, and indeed contradict himself in a single breath, for xii. 37 says undeniably that the Jews could well have believed. When, then, they did not believe, so that Isaiah's words were fulfilled, we need only observe that these words were intended in prevision of the future, and not as an arbitrary determination of it. It is said here, as at viii. 43, that they could not believe. No one, therefore, has a right to speak of a 'physical' inability. They cannot believe, because they do not understand him. The speech is foreign to them, and they cannot grasp it. But the speech is foreign because the subject is. There exists no inner relationship between them and the subject.

The expression by which the evangelist denotes this inner relationship which forms the presupposition of belief, reads in different ways: to have the love of God in oneself, v. 42; to seek the honour that cometh from God, v. 44; to wish to do God's will, vii. 17; to thirst, vii. 37, and so forth. In every case, as these designations unanswerably show, a moral presupposition is intended. This being so, we can easily understand the meaning of his calling them the children, not of God or of the truth, but of the devil and of his kind. At the same time we learn what right there is for saying that the physical necessity of dualism is taught here.[1]

It is, nevertheless, not difficult to perceive why it is said that they cannot believe. Because they will not, their punishment must be that they now cannot, that Jesus' word works hardness in their heart and blindness in their understanding. It is an act of judgment. Jesus came for κρίμα ('judgment'), so that those who saw should become blind, ix. 39. How can any one talk of a physical inability, or of a metaphysical dualism, which Jesus finds when he comes? It is only his word which effects the division and the

[1] See Hilgenfeld, *Das Evangelium und die Briefe Johannis nach ihrem Lehrbegriff dargestellt*, Halle 1849, pp. 134–157, especially 150, 152, and 155. Hilgenfeld, in his book, *Die Evangelien*, Leipzig 1854, p. 332 ff., in like manner asserts 'a deep-reaching metaphysical dualism.' Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 88 ff., approached this; and even Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. pp. 111 f., 125.

inability.[1] Thus the unbelief of the Jews is to be referred to an act of moral self-determination. Do they not believe? do they not recognise Him? do they not understand Him? It is all because they will not do this. Such, then, is also the proper basis for explaining the 'inconceivably narrow failures to understand.'

It is said that the Jews ought not to have misunderstood the words about the temple, ii. 19. But suppose Jesus really spoke of the temple which they saw? What else can τοῦτον ('this') refer to? They understood the word ναόσ ('temple') correctly. The peculiar reference in the meaning of the words λύειν ('destroy') and ἐγείρειν ('raise up') was hidden from them, and as well from the disciples. The latter could not understand it previous to the fulfilling facts of the death and resurrection of Jesus. Nor had Jesus said it for them to understand it. He referred to something future in the manner of prophetic speech, which should have offended them least of all.

Nicodemus' Want of Understanding.

Should Nicodemus' failure to understand be less comprehensible? Schleiermacher, Grimm,[2] and Baumgarten-Crusius, it is true, make him answer more ingeniously than he meant to. He intended what he says in iii. 4, not figuratively, but really. Yet, on the other hand, it is not stupid, as Bruno Bauer[3] wishes to make us believe; and still less is Nicodemus intentionally depicted as very stupid, so as to throw Jesus' wisdom more into relief by the contrast. Such means are not necessary for the latter purpose. Just because the new physical beginning of life is impossible, he thinks that the new beginning of the whole moral life demanded by Jesus is also impossible. The former seems to him to be the necessary presupposition for the latter. The exposition of the passage will show that this was thought out and spoken, not by want of understanding, but by correct understanding.

[1] See Hauff, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1846, p. 602 ff.; and the commentary below at the passages in question.

[2] Grimm, *Ersch und Gruber's Allgem. Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, 2te Section, 22ter Theil, Leipzig 1843, p. 49 and note.

[3] Bruno Bauer, *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte des Johannes*, Bremen 1840, pp. 86, 90.

The Samaritan Woman's not understanding.

Bruno Bauer cannot comprehend at all the Samaritan woman's failure to understand, iv. 11 ff. It may be a relief for the moment to know that Schweizer 'comprehends it perfectly.'[1] Jesus at the well of water, wishing for a drink, speaks to her of a living water which he can offer her. She does not catch the spiritual sense at the moment, but takes the words in their ordinary meaning, and cannot understand them in this light, because she cannot imagine whence Jesus was to get the water, seeing that he could not draw it from this well. There is nothing strange in all this. If we reflect, moreover, that she then recognises in the water mentioned by Jesus a gift of God which bestows constant satisfaction and eternal life, both in her way of understanding, according to which she judges of these things after the manner of this earthly life, she needs no further defence against Bruno Bauer's charge that she is 'silly.'

The request of the Jews, vi. 34, always to give them such bread as he had just described, is to be explained in the same way. They understood thus much, that it was a gift of heaven, and that it bestowed eternal life. Hence they desire it. But when they murmur at His calling Himself the bread come down from heaven, inasmuch as he is Joseph's son, vi. 41 f., it is because, like Nicodemus, they take Jesus' words too literally, and do not solve the contradiction between Joseph's son and the coming from heaven by interpreting the latter generally.

It has been made a reproach to the Jews that they did not understand Jesus' saying: He would go away; they should seek Him and not find, and should not be able to come to Him. They thought of a departure to the διασπορά ('dispersion'), vii. 35 f. How should they understand it? Of death? Where, then, would be the Messiah's kingdom? Should they have thought of an ascension? How was that possible? And if He go away, neither to death nor to heaven, whither else can He go than out of the country, and therefore εἰσ τὴν διασπορὰν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ('unto the dispersed among the Gentiles' [Greeks])? Yet even that is not conceivable,

[1] Schweizer, *Das Evangelium Johannes*, Leipzig 1841, p. 37.

for the Messiah's vocation is in Palestine. So they themselves remove this possibility, and arrive at inconceivability and at the confession of a lack of comprehension. In not understanding these words they are but little worse than the disciples, of whom much the same thing is reported, xvi. 17 f.

A similar failure to comprehend Jesus induces the malicious speech, viii. 22, which has also been termed a case of 'inconceivable misunderstanding.' It is malicious, in that they speak not simply of the death of the Messiah, but even of a suicide, the most detested sin among the Jews.

It should not be a difficult thing to hesitate to see 'purely inconceivable narrowness' in viii. 52, 57. Jesus attributes to his word the power to overcome death. What was more natural than that the Jews should compare his word with the divine word of the Old Covenant delivered to the patriarchs and prophets, which clearly had no such effect, and thence accuse Jesus of insufferable, boasting self-exaltation? He continued, that Abraham had seen His day. This they easily change into the proposition, that He must have seen Abraham. Hence they demonstrate that in His boasting self-exaltation He lets Himself be seduced into speaking sheer nonsense. They press it to extremes. Yet Jesus accepts even this absurd thing to which they think they have led Him; and He goes still further. No wonder they take up stones against Him.

It is thus easy to change the reproach of incomprehensible misunderstandings into the recognition and proof of a perfectly conceivable, and, from the standpoint of the men speaking, a necessary not-understanding.

It is usual in this connection to refer to the position towards the Old Testament assumed by Jesus according to the fourth gospel. Of late some have thought they might designate this, one of pure opposition (Schweizer, Baur, Köstlin, Hilgenfeld). This statement is unfounded.[1] In so far as that view seeks support from the use of *Ἰουδαῖοι* ('Jews'), it has been already noticed and refuted. They also appeal to the way in which Jesus speaks of the Jewish law and the like. But this method of speech ('your law,' viii. 17, x. 34, xv. 25)

[1] See against this, especially, Weiss, *Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff*, Berlin 1862, p. 101 ff.

is simply due to the fact that Jesus and the Jews stood in hostility one over against the other, and that the Jews appealed to the law, against Jesus. When, then, the Jews take the law to themselves in a peculiar sense in opposition to Jesus, and use it as a weapon against Him, Jesus accepts the position so as to turn the argument against them. In naming the law of love a new commandment, xiii. 34, He does not aim at the Old Testament substance, as if to oppose the Old Testament law by this law of the New Testament, for this commandment appears as the sum of the Old Testament law. It is merely that this commandment comes forth now with a fresh base, and with a power of life which was lacking before. God had hitherto revealed His love in the revelation of salvation, and yet showed Himself as love in the highest sense in the sending and the sacrifice of Jesus. Corresponding to the latter, there was to be in the bearing of men towards God a love such as the world had not before seen.

Köstlin enters a strange path. He distinguishes between the law and the prophecy of the Old Testament in such a way as to make Christianity oppose the former and assimilate the latter, whereby it mediated its continuity with the preceding historical preparations.[1] But is there not prophetic matter in the law? Suppose, however, Jesus in v. 46 only referred to Deut. xviii. 15, as Köstlin and Hilgenfeld[2] wrongly say: Moses is the representative of the law, i. 17, the representative of the Old Covenant in general, ix. 28. Hence, if Jesus says that Moses wrote of Him, then the law in general, the whole Old Covenant, prophesies of Him. The whole Old Testament Scripture is a witness to Him, v. 39.[3]

The case of the anti-Judaism which Hilgenfeld finds in the fourth gospel is quite desperate. In his view the fourth gospel holds the demiurge, the son of the most high God and the father of the devil, to be the God of the Old Testament; thus he understands viii. 44; see the exposition below. Only in particular passages, especially in the prophetical portions,

[1] Köstlin, *Der Lehrbegriff des Evangeliums und der Briefe Johannis*, Berlin 1843, pp. 52 f., 129, 131-136. Baur has like views, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 314 ff.

[2] Hilgenfeld, *Das Evangelium und die Briefe Johannis*, Halle 1849, p. 197.

[3] Weiss in his *Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff*, Berlin 1862, p. 101 ff., especially 112 ff., has answered Köstlin completely.

are higher revelations contained. These were given to the prophet by the mother Sophia ('wisdom'), or the highest God himself, without the knowledge of the demiurge.[1] But this view is too arbitrary and singular to need thorough refutation. Indeed, it is refuted by the close connection in which the language, the conceptions, the ideas of the fourth gospel, and no less the history reported in it, stand to the Old Testament Scriptures and history. The events of the life of Jesus are foretold, i. 23, vii. 42, xii. 14 f., xiii. 18, xix. 24, 36 f., iii. 14, xx. 9. Jesus sees Old Testament historical relations fulfilled in His history, vi. 31, 50, xiii. 18, xv. 25 [xix. 36], i. 52, viii. 56. He views Himself as the contents of the Old Testament, v. 39, 46.[2] If I attempted to state where the ideas, conceptions, figures, and symbols were proper to the Old Testament, I should have to write out half the gospel. But the problem of the particularism of the Old Testament on the one hand, and of its universalism on the other hand,[3] is solved by the recognition of the history of salvation and of the progress of this history, which presupposes identity and difference as co-existing.

3. The Development of the History.

The complaint has been made against the fourth gospel, in many forms, that there is no development in it. All is complete from the first. Without sufficient occasion, murderous thoughts and attempts at murder are spoken of soon after the beginning. The blow for which the hand was long ago raised is only kept from falling by the external means, that the hour is not yet come. And finally, the decision is compassed by a fact of which the synoptists know nothing. Thus Baur,[4] and, following him, Keim, trace the feature of 'leaden monotony'

[1] Hilgenfeld, *Das Evangelium und die Briefe Johannis nach ihrem Lehrbegriff dargestellt*, Halle 1849, p. 207; *Die Evangelien*, Leipzig 1854, p. 330 f.

[2] See Lechler, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1854, pp. 846–848; and Luthardt on the posture of the Lord towards the Old Testament Scriptures, *Sächsisches Kirchen- und Schulblatt*, Leipzig, 12th and 19th June 1862, Nos. 24, 25, pp. 193–199 and 205–208.

[3] Hilgenfeld, *Das Evangelium und die Briefe Johannis*, Halle 1849, p. 207.

[4] Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 283 ff.; and Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 117.

to the fact that all is complete from the start. Hilgenfeld,[1] it is true, finds 'a constant progress.'

Let us discuss briefly these three questions: as to the occasion, the progress, and the decision.

(1.) *The Occasion.*

The question is, whether a collision of such force as is reported by the evangelist be conceivable so early as he represents it to have taken place. The chief point will be, to make clear to ourselves the original posture of Jesus and the Jews towards each other. Jesus demands acknowledgment of his person and of its uncommon character. With that as a basis, and on account of that, they were to accept His actions and their uncommon character without question. Only on this presupposition could a due advance in knowledge of His person and in belief on it be obtained. On the contrary, the Jews demand that He furnish a basis for, and effect a recognition of, the peculiarity of His person, by peculiar deeds. Only on this presupposition would they accept His person, and the claims He urged in behalf of it. Each is bent upon a contrary way; the former, the way of inward recognition and free moral appropriation; the latter, the way of outward perception, and of an acceptance produced or compelled by sensible demonstration,—an acceptance which has no moral value.

Yet, notwithstanding this, Jesus agrees to their demand, though He satisfies it in a different sense from that which they intended,—namely, He bestows also upon this way a moral character and worth. When Jesus justifies the claims of His person by His outward action, the important point is, what meaning people give to it, what standard they use for it. Jesus' action is of a twofold character. Either, as judicial, it appeals to the conscience and demands recognition for itself in this sense, and at the same time the recognition of the divine holiness of His person; or, it shapes itself as a σημεῖον of his δόξα ('sign' of his 'glory'), and as such asks to be recognised and accepted, not by the eye of the body, but by the uprightness of the mind as open for divine things; and it

[1] Hilgenfeld, *Die Evangelien*, Leipzig 1854, p. 325.

demands in this way the recognition of the divine glory of His person.

The Jews, taking the word in the specific sense mentioned above, oppose themselves to both. On the one hand, they do not desire an action which directs itself judging and appealing to the conscience, but one which satisfies their religious curiosity and their Jewish vanity. On the other hand, they demand an action which shall be the revelation of something new and higher, not in the sense of being a master of the old, but only in such a sense that it agree fully with the letter of the old, be it law or promise. They lay this double standard upon Jesus' action. Instead of being satisfied, they are embittered. And, moreover, they believe that they may condemn it as conflicting with the arrangements and the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and that they may also behave towards and treat Jesus accordingly. If this be the position of affairs, the only thing possible is, that both meet in the keenest manner as soon as Jesus in such action reveals Himself in His essence.

Hence the first contact, ii. 13 ff., is at once a hostile collision, though the hostility does not yet come forward decidedly. It is hostile because Jesus' act is a moral condemnation, which the Jews are not inclined at once to accept and submit to as such. This collision lacks the sharpness of those later, since the question does not yet touch the letter of the divine revelation of the Old Covenant. The succeeding miracles soften to a certain degree the keenness of the opposition. Nevertheless, the fact that Jesus does not perform such miracles without at once presenting moral claims, repels his opponents again. And they are embittered by the circumstance that, in this way, He does not so much satisfy their demand as rather insist upon it, that they should acknowledge Him.

Then quite a long period of time elapses. The next meeting, v. 1 ff., is a hostile encounter, more decided and more decisive than the first. We read in v. 18 that the Jews wished to kill Him. This, it is said, is premature: the end is put at the beginning, and the history thereby destroyed. But we must consider, above all, that it is throughout the manner of our evangelist to trace, as already present in germ, the thing which historically comes forth to view gradually. He intends, therefore, to show that the Jews slew Jesus simply

because their disposition, as soon as it became decidedly hostile, was at heart immediately a murderous disposition. We do not need to appeal to 1 John iii. 15 to comprehend his words; here more is said. Our evangelist does not say that they had begun outward preparations, perhaps in a legal way, to compass Jesus' death. Those who so expound the passage make it say more than it intends, and do indeed thus destroy the natural progress of the history. As Baumgarten-Crusius rightly observes, the thing designated is continuous. It is, namely, that they from that time forth were on the watch to circumvent Him, and prepare some occasion on which they could dispose of Him.

It is questioned whether sufficient ground was already given for such decided hostility. A double ground is alleged. First, the supposed breach of the Sabbath. In this we must recall the fundamental importance which the Sabbath had for the people, as an eternal sign of the covenant between Jehovah and them; see Ex. xxxi. 13–17. To sin against the Sabbath, was to attack the foundation of Israel, and of its peculiarity among all nations. When we consider how far the rigour of hallowing the Sabbath went, in the times after the exile, it is a matter of course to us that they could neither forgive nor forget such a sin as they thought the deed of Jesus to be,—of Jesus, who came forward with the claim that He was the fulfilment of the Old Testament. We have here, then, a perfectly reasonable occasion for the deadly hatred of the Jews towards Jesus, and one that agrees with the synoptic account, according to which nothing was so disliked in, and nothing was so treasured up against Jesus, as the fact that he did not keep the Sabbath. Matt. xii. 10 ff., Mark iii. 1–6, and Luke vi. 6–11, offer to us both points: that a supposed breach of the Sabbath was to Jesus' enemies an occasion for persecution, and that their disposition was murderous from the first. Secondly, to this we must add his alleged blasphemy in making himself equal to the Father in his works. That saying must have been doubly offensive to them in connection with his breach of the law. The former, therefore, is the real ground and occasion for the hostility. It is to us an occasion sufficient, historically probable, and entirely agreeable to the synoptic report.

(2.) *The Progress.*

In the course of the history the Jews would indeed like very much to seize His person, but they do not dare to, vii. 30. They send their servants: these, however, partly find the people so favourably disposed towards Jesus, and partly are themselves so struck by Jesus' words, that they have not the courage to carry out the command, vii. 45 ff. A new unbearable speech embitters them, and they already have the stones in their hands; but Jesus withdraws himself from their madness, viii. 59. They made the same attempt at x. 31. Yet Jesus' words so far master them, that they only make an attempt to seize Him, x. 39. Is there anything strange in the repetition of these attempts? They occur in a brief space of time, during which Jesus was only a visitor at Jerusalem. His departure on each occasion removed their opportunity, and their hate could therefore only utter itself in isolated attempts. Still, the hatred thereby gradually familiarized itself more with its murderous thoughts, until it found courage for the last decision.

The evangelist certainly, however, wishes us at the same time to understand that a higher hand was ruling in this development of affairs. Not only did Jesus frequently withdraw, so as not to induce the decision too early, but also it seems as if the very hand of His enemies was held back until it might do what it wished. This is expressed in the repeated οὔπω ἐληλύθει ἡ ὥρα αὐτοῦ ('his hour was not yet come'), vii. 30, viii. 20, ii. 4. In and after xiii. 1, it is said of this ὥρα ('hour'), that it has come. The only way to name this 'mechanical' and 'external,' [1] is to measure the book by a foreign, and not by its own standard. Since it is a religious book, and relates to the history of salvation, it is quite natural that it should speak of a divine leading in the life of Jesus, and of a God-appointed time and ordering of the decision. When it speaks of a determined time, it is nothing else than that it not so much imagines as knows, and accordingly portrays, the threads of Jesus' history, which, though moved on earth, are still attached to and governed in heaven. This it does

[1] Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 284.

only the more because it in general is accustomed to start from the last principles and from heaven. As it knows that Christ came out from heaven and from God, so it knows that he, in his acts and in his experiences, is at every time dependent on the Father's will. What he does, he hears first from the Father; what he works miraculously, he receives from the Father, v. 19, 30, xi. 41. The case is the same with his sufferings. Our gospel shows that these, too, are divinely ordered, because it reports the history of salvation, and it makes this especially prominent, in correspondence with its whole plan. Therefore this phrase, 'the hour,' is not an external means, used mechanically by the writer to make up for his poor way of writing history. It is based necessarily in the character and plan of his book.

The writer has before his eyes from the first the thought of the aim towards which Jesus lives in the history of His calling. He connects the separate events with this, and wishes the reader also to view them from this standpoint. This is not an external way of writing history. It is the divine pragmatism of history.

(3.) *The Decision.*

In xi. 53 it is related that the high council determined the death of Jesus. They say that this contradicts the synoptists, because here the raising of Lazarus and the great excitement that miracle caused among the people are offered as the motive, while the synoptists know nothing of these things. Therefore the history given in the fourth gospel is an entirely different one. Great emphasis has been laid on this.[1] They forget that in the deliberation there is no special mention of this miracle, but of πολλὰ σημεῖα ('many miracles'), ver. 47. The excitement in consequence of this single miracle only, finally turned the balance.[2] The momentary occasion is not the cause. There is enough to cause the decision of the Sanhedrim, even if that raising the dead be not reported. In Matt. xxi. 46 we read that the Pharisees would gladly have seized Jesus, but

[1] Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 185.

[2] See Hauff, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1846, p. 615.

that they feared the people, because the latter held Him to be a prophet. In Luke xix. 37 we find that the people praised Him περὶ πασῶν ὧν εἶδον δυνάμεων ('for all the mighty works that they had seen'); and in Luke xix. 47 f., xx. 19, xxii. 2, that the leaders would like to have overpowered and slain him, had not the applause of the people hindered them. All this shows us the same state of affairs as that reported by John, and which the raising from the dead only offers him a fit occasion to describe. And thus, according to the synoptic accounts also, the wish and will of the leaders must only have become the stronger the more the people turned towards Jesus.

We have already observed above, when speaking of the earlier references to the murderous thoughts of the Jews, that this decision of the leaders was not a sudden thing, which first arose in them on account of the resurrection of Lazarus. How ought the evangelist to write history to satisfy the demands of the critics of our day? If he shows how thoroughly prepared psychologically the decisive decree of the Sanhedrim was, he spoils the history, because he puts the last thing at the very beginning. If he mentions how it came that the Sanhedrim at last resolved upon the decisive decree, that is something so new that it is only grounded on the event mentioned immediately before, and not on the whole position of affairs which has been long forming. Therefore he contradicts the other accounts, which, although they do not report that single event, do sketch the general position as John does. And yet John, by basing the decision in the preceding meetings, and in the thus founded mutual relation, destroys the history, and makes an actual development, and therefore also a real final decision, impossible.

We should have first to discover the art of satisfying obstinacy, before we could hope to silence the objections to the historical narrative of our gospel.

4. The Discourses and Dialogues.

It is acknowledged that 'the gospel is a work made at one cast,'[1] and that 'the dogmatic contents, and in most cases the

[1] Köstlin, *Der Lehrbegriff des Evangeliums und der Briefe Johannis*, Berlin 1843, p. 26.

form also, in both' [the discourses of Jesus and the doctrines brought forward by the writer of the gospel in his own name] 'agree perfectly.'[1] From this they proceed to deny the historical character of Jesus' discourses, and also of the dialogues.

Baur bases the unhistorical character of the discourses in three propositions. (1.) 'Discourses cannot be historic which are connected with events that cannot be regarded as historic.' (2.) 'Discourses cannot be historic which, if they had really been so delivered, would have lacked all propriety of utterance, and all naturalness in reference to the circumstances.' For here we nowhere find condescending love. The whole procedure is judicial and decisive. Instead of instruction, and of a supplying the moral and religious needs, there is nothing but a revelation of the Messianic greatness and glory. (3.) 'Discourses cannot be historic which, in their essential contents, are only an unfolding of the Johannean idea of the Logos.' But this 'is a peculiar idea, lying entirely outside of the synoptic range of vision. In this idea the gospel of John receives from the first an utterly different subject for the gospel history from the one in the synoptic gospels.'[2]

Others have added to these propositions the following: such discourses in general are on no condition retainable in memory.

Baur has a peculiar method of arguing for the proof of his first proposition. If we ask him why the events cannot be historic, he says, because they are under the domination of a definite idea, that of the Logos. We recognise the rule of this idea chiefly from the discourses, these being only the carrying out of the idea in its separate points.[3] The thus gained certainty as to the main idea, and the thereby conditioned purpose of the gospel, is to be laid at the base of all comparison of the historical parts with the synoptists, that is, of all judgment of what is historical.[4] Hence, because of the ideal tendency of the whole book, chiefly revealed in the discourses, the historical parts of it are not historical. And, on the other hand, because the events cannot be historical,

[1] Köstlin, *Der Lehrbegriff des Evangeliums und der Briefe Johannis*, Berlin 1843, p. 24.

[2] Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, pp. 297–310.

[3] See, for instance, *ibid.* pp. 296, 302, 159, 252.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 256 f.

neither are the discourses. The next section has the task of examining the details of this argument. Here it suffices to point out the circle.

As regards the other propositions, it must be considered whether the various discourses, with all their similarity, were not still different from each other, suited to the circumstances, necessary, and possible to be remembered. Let us look at the discourses themselves, and thence draw our conclusions.

(1.) *The Discourses of the Baptist.*

Although Köstlin asserts 'the complete agreement' of the testimony of the Baptist with the speech and the thoughts of the rest of the gospel, he yet owns that the said agreement is 'modified somewhat by the peculiar relation of the Baptist to Judaism,' and 'more nearly approaches the Jewish method of conception than the rest of the gospel.' [1]

Above all, the general contents of his earlier testimony are so suited to the whole situation and to his vocation, and so internally necessary, that they can scarcely be thought other than they are. It was only to be expected that the Sanhedrim should interest itself in the matter. The fact that the Baptist names himself with an Old Testament phrase, and therein comprehends the preparatory character of the Old Testament prophecy, is characteristic of him as the last prophet of the Old Covenant. His so designating himself, and by that means at the same time expressing the moral claim which he urged upon his nation and his age, agrees with the way in which he comes forward in the synoptists with the demand for moral conduct; see Mark i. 2–4. There is a like agreement in his statement of the difference of the two tasks, his and Jesus', Mark i. 7, and at least a similarity in regard to the difference between the two personalities.

It is true, some have urged, that the vocation of the Baptist in John is not the same as in the synoptists, because in these he comes to prepare for Christ; in John, to testify of Him.[2]

[1] Köstlin, *Der Lehrbegriff des Evangeliums und der Briefe Johannis*, Berlin 1843, pp. 31, 38.

[2] See, for example, Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 108.

That, however, is to overlook the fact that the former is also distinctly to be read in John i. 23, and that the latter is not lacking in the synoptists; see Matt. iii. 11–14. When it is further urged that John tells nothing of a baptism of Jesus,[1] the objector again fails to perceive that in John i. 31 ff. the baptizing is put in such close connection with the vocation of witness, and especially with his witness to the imparting of the Spirit to Jesus, that the two are certainly intended to be taken together in thought.

The testimony of the Baptist to Jesus in John only goes beyond the synoptic report in the words, i. 15, *ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος κτλ.* ('he that cometh after me,' etc.). But these very words are so rounded off, firm, and at the same time peculiar, that they clearly stamp themselves thereby as original. The exposition will show how far they really pass the boundary of the synoptic testimony. Yet even before we can decide more definitely as to their sense, the very wording (*ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος*) gives the impression that they but correspond to the historical relation of the forerunner to the one coming after, who was greater. If they contain more than the Jewish consciousness of that day bore within itself, we observe that the Baptist had another vocation, and therefore a higher degree of knowledge conditioned on that.

Against this it can be of little avail that Köstlin[2] recalls the fact that i. 26–34 moves within the trilogy of *ὕδωρ, αἷμα* (*ἀμνός*), *πνεῦμα* ('water, blood [lamb], spirit'), which three in one formed the *μαρτυρία τοῦ θεοῦ* ('witness of God'), and recur in 1 John v. 6–8; John iii. 5–8, 14 ff. It is arbitrary to put *αἷμα* for *ἀμνός*, and just as arbitrary for him to pick out *ἀμνός* and not something else; as, for example, ver. 30 or 34. Water and spirit are so necessarily given by the history itself, they could not be avoided. No critical proceeding can be based on such conceits.

Moreover, in iii. 27–36, the position which the Baptist assigns to himself in contrast with Jesus, though expressed by a different figure, is the same as in the earlier testimony. It is

[1] Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 108.

[2] Köstlin, *Der Lehrbegriff des Evangeliums und der Briefe Johannis*, Berlin 1843, p. 35.

only still more decidedly and more strongly declared, in correspondence with the progress of the history, which had completed itself since the former testimony, and in correspondence with the special occasion which called forth this witness. Thus, in general at least, do we find an explanation and a justification of this discourse, in which some see the strongest prop for the asserting of the unhistorical character of the Johannean discourses. It is true that this testimony of the Baptist does, in its second half, grow more general, and that it reminds us of the conversation of Jesus with Nicodemus. Yet the historical basis is not wanting even here. Hence we cannot say, with Lücke,[1] that from ver. 31 the reflection of the evangelist has mingled itself in an undistinguishable manner with the discourse of the Baptist. On the other hand, we shall not, with Baumgarten-Crusius,[2] contend against admitting that the evangelist has put his form on the passage. Phrases like ὃ ἑώρακεν καὶ ἤκουσεν ('what he hath seen and heard'), near as the thought lies to the πρῶτός μου ἦν ('he was before me'), ἐσφράγισεν ('hath set to his seal'), πάντα δέδωκεν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ('hath given all things into his hand'), and ὁ πιστεύων εἰς τὸν υἱὸν ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον ('he that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life'), though they express no thought the Baptist could not have uttered, bear, nevertheless, rather the form of the rest of the gospel than of the more richly figurative speech of the Baptist. Baur, however, declares that if we once make concessions to the subjectivity of the evangelist, there is no further boundary line to be drawn by which to prevent the last conclusion, that, finally, all is subjective,—namely, unreal. There is no logical necessity in this. Making another person speak more or less in your own words is a very different thing from inventing yourself discourses and thoughts, and putting them in the other person's mouth.

[1] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. p. 567.

[2] Baumgarten-Crusius, *Theologische Auslegung der Johanneischen Schriften*, Jena 1843, vol. i. p. 137.

(2.) *Jesus' Conversations*

The conversations of Jesus with others are partly of the nature of instruction, partly of debate. We shall consider both.

a. Instruction.

The first words Jesus exchanged with his disciples are so vivid, brief, striking, and so based on the situation, that we have no reason to question their historical character. How easy to remember they were, needs no proof. The events are sketched with such distinct vision that nothing could be more clear. If this passage were invented, it would belong to the masterpieces of dramatic historical description. And yet our evangelist is said partly, as by Baur, not to have intended, partly, as by Weisse, not to have been in a position, to write concrete living history. The verses in question refute the latter view. As for the former, if the evangelist had intended only to carry out his idea in fictitious history, the idea would have presented itself in quite a different way from such short, striking words, question and answer, invitation and salutation, imparting and surprising, information and prophecy,—all borne up and determined by personal interest.

In what follows, both Jesus' words to his mother, and that paradox in the temple, are so finished and complete, that they could not have been changed in the tradition. The evangelist, too, is so thoroughly aware of the originality of the paradox, that it affords him an external material whereon to exercise his thoughts. He can have no further relation to it than that he either understands or does not understand the words ii. 22. Like these words in the temple, as Baumgarten-Crusius [1] correctly observes, all those speeches bear the stamp of originality, of which the evangelist either says or implies that they were not understood then, that they were only understood later, or whose unintelligibility he thinks he must explain. See iv. 32 f., vi. 7, vii. 37 ff., xi. 11 ff., xii. 16, 32 f., xiii. 27 f.[2] Otherwise fiction would be extended beyond the

[1] Baumgarten-Crusius, *Theologische Auslegung der Johanneischen Schriften*, Jena 1843, vol. i. p. xxiv.

[2] Bleek, *Beiträge zur Evangelien Kritik*, Berlin 1846, p. 229 ff.

allowed sphere, and would then cease altogether to be inoffensive to the Christian conscience. Many like sayings scattered over our gospel are related to these, and hence lay the same claim to originality as these, and stand or fall with them. Some are repetitions,—as, for example, the words concerning the lifting up, or concerning the living water; some stand in inseparable connection of thought with such surroundings; and some have just the same stamp of being original and free, not unconditionally necessary, or of being enigmatical, and calculated to offend or to surprise. See iv. 35 ff., 42, 44, v. 14, 17, vi. 26 f., 62 ff., 68 f., vii. 6, 33 f.[1]

Critics, however, are more ready to allow that these short sayings are historical. The longer conversations are objects of greater suspicion. And yet among the latter, too, there is none in which we do not find one or more short striking phrases. These are often like a theme, or like the heading of a paragraph, or like a paradox in the current of the conversation. Easy to remember, they form for the memory a catch to bring up the remaining parts of the discourse or of the dialogue. If the other parts vanished from recollection, they could be reconstructed easily by the aid of these catches.

The first longer conversation, with Nicodemus, offers us examples of this, in the contrast between the address of the Pharisee and the answer of Jesus; in His demand, to which is joined that which follows; and the astonishment of the teacher of Israel. The five first speeches, iii. 2–6, follow so strikingly on each other, and are all so characteristic and so finished as to thought and form, that they could by no means be forgotten if, as was probably the case, the evangelist once heard them. It is indifferent whether they were the principal phrases of a longer conversation, or the conversation itself. The discourse proceeds in the same short, decided, proverb-like way to ver. 14. As it continues, it loses itself gradually in the more general sphere of the proclamation of the gospel; but it is throughout directed by the particular historical occasion. The phrases in which the evangelist here gives the discourse of Jesus may have been more or less developed by Jesus. It is scarcely conceivable that the evangelist should have communicated them in their complete development. Yet he could easily

[1] See Bleek on xii. 32 f., vii. 37 ff., xxi. 17 f., xiv. 31, *ut supra*, pp. 230–239.

note the essential contents, which, in their peculiarity and their succession, were called forth partly by the contrast of the first salutation and Jesus' answer, partly by the contrast of Jesus' demand and the other's failure to comprehend, and partly by the contrast of the teacher in Israel and the vocation of Jesus.

It is true, Nicodemus did not understand everything at once. This was not necessary. He had or could have connecting links: in the first words, as to water and spirit, with the testimony of the Baptist; in the closing words, with his conscience. As for the rest, he had the same experience as the disciples, concerning whom the evangelist repeatedly observes, that they understood completely only after the close of Jesus' earthly life. Jesus strews forth the seed of His word for that time.

We therefore observe that Jesus' instruction was two-sided. On the one hand, it rested on the preaching of the Baptist, connecting with and continuing it; and on the facts of the moral consciousness, expressing or appealing to these, so as to prepare the way for the reception of the proper testimony of Jesus, His self-witness. On the other hand, it declared the facts of His appearance in its different aspects, and accordingly had a continual reference to the future, in which His appearance should receive its solution and be fully understood.

The former side was the one more universally comprehensible for every man for whom the Baptist had not appeared in vain, and who in his disposition acknowledged the facts of the moral consciousness. The latter side was, in so far, less comprehensible, because Jesus was not yet perfected, and the issue of His life was not to be presupposed. The former led from the Israelitic or human presupposition to the recognition of the peculiarity of Jesus. The latter rested on the presupposition that one had permitted the impression of the personality of Jesus and its peculiarity to work upon himself at least partially, and had thus become inclined also to accept what was singular and incomprehensible in Jesus' person and words.

If the former was connected with existing things as to subject-matter, so was it as to language, and that in two ways,

because of its double-sidedness. It used the language of the prophet, morally judging, or punishing, or presaging the future; or it adopted the language of maxims, expressing the facts of the moral consciousness in short sentences which told by their rounded brevity.

The latter side of Jesus' instruction, His self-witness, taught that which was new in His appearance, in connection with what was old. Hence it spoke in a new language, following the Old Testament, where it preaches the gospel. In its basis it is of the Old Testament, and yet it is new wine in new bottles, new knowledge forming a new language.[1] As Jesus' appearance was not understood, and yet struck the heart, so it was with this language. As the former was simple without, yet rich within, so was the latter; as the former was paradoxical and excitive of contradiction, and yet wonderfully affecting and productive of belief, so was the latter. The language of Jesus can have been nothing but the direct product of His personality. If this personality assumes a double posture,—to connect with what was old, whether Israelitic or human, and to bring forth in Israel and establish something new for the humanity of the Gentile world as well as of Israel,—so must the language be of a double kind. Is it then so incredible that these two sides of Jesus' language should mirror themselves in the different gospels, separate and yet playing upon each other?[2]

We are told, however, that it is improbable that Jesus would have spoken to the common people in the same high language as to the scribes. For this reason the conversation with the Samaritan woman is said to be unhistorical, because Jesus here speaks much the same as when conversing with the learned member of the council in Jerusalem.

The likeness of the two conversations as to bearing and incomprehensibility of the thoughts has been exaggerated. The style of the talk with the woman is unmistakably a step lower, and is much nearer and better fitted to this woman than the words spoken to Nicodemus would have been. Indeed, there are several points which distinguish this

[1] See above, p. 15 ff.

[2] Against Baur's dilemma, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 294.

from the preceding conversation in quite a peculiar manner They are these: the way in which Jesus opens the conversation; the way in which He gives her a riddle in each phrase, to excite her to desire knowledge and possession of what is promised, whereas He rather makes demands on Nicodemus; and the manner in which Jesus, as if with a leap, passes from the foregoing to the moral condition, and then again, at the suggestion of something close at hand, comes to speak of the new nature of the age opening with Him. Hug[1] called attention to this, and it never should have been so mistaken or denied as it has been.

We do not need to show how easy the chief phrases of this conversation were to remember. Nor do we need to ask whence the evangelist became acquainted with the conversation. In iv. 28 we perceive clearly that the woman told it more than once.

b. Debate.

Jesus' discourse in v. 17 ff. is of another kind. In the preceding, He began with the essential needs of man, and only spoke of Himself in so far as He could offer the true supply for these. In the discourse now before us, the basis of His self-witness is at first his relation to the Father. Herewith begins the series of those debates with the Jews which continue to the tenth chapter, and handle very much one and the same theme.

They do not treat of the development of an idea,—namely, of the Logos idea, as has often been said, after Baur's example.[2] Their contents are facts. First, the facts of the person of Jesus, its importance, and its posture towards God and man. These are not the points of an idea. Christianity does not rest upon any doctrine whatsoever, or in a merely subjective general determination of the feelings, or of the direction of the disposition. It consists essentially in the fact of the person of Jesus Christ. Therefore the instruction of Jesus would not have been complete if it had not been also in this sense self-

[1] Hug, *Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Stuttgart 1847, vol. ii. p. 185.

[2] Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 304 ff.

witness. This, however, could not take place solely in short maxims. It demanded also connected exposition. Nor were parables sufficient for this. It required real discourse, even though it did not despise figurative language.

At the same time, there is no lack of short, sharp sentences, which introduce or gather up the exposition, and by their character serve as a convenient aid to the memory in recalling the whole. Such a shape appears at once in v. 17, and approximately in vv. 19-23. What follows is rather the development of the preceding. And then the return and repetition of the leading sentences[1] is only the greater proof how careful the writer was to remain within the circle of the chief thoughts which belonged here. All the following discourses bear this character. Though we should own that they show the greatest freedom of expression and execution, we must still always acknowledge the stamp of compact unity which they bear without exception. Thus v. 30 returns to v. 19 and 22; and v. 25 f. to v. 21. And in chapter sixth, the discourse at Capernaum, certain leading phrases are constantly repeated from beginning to end. Look at vv. 35, 48, 51; 37, 39, 44; 35, 40, 47, 50, 51, 54, 57, 58. The same thing may be found and recognised in a similar manner in all the following discourses.

The one fact of the person of Jesus is the thing presented here at every point. Yet in what manifold ways! Jesus' words as to the freedom, the power, and the acknowledgment of his working, are quite different from his words as to the fruit of the communion of his flesh and blood. His account of his obedience to God, of the reward of obedience to God and him, vii., differs from that of the self-certainty of His testimony, viii. 12–20, or of His end and the Jews' end, or of the absolute contrast between Him and his opponents, which is the ground of their incapacity. And there is a difference between his description of his vocation in life, ix. 1 ff., and of his position in his mission towards his own followers, or of the issue of his mission, x.

It is the manifold character of the actual circumstances, as given with the fact of his person in its relation to the Father, to his own people, to the world, and to the Jews,

[1] See above as to the character of the language.

which here finds its necessary expression. If the manifold character of these circumstances really exist, it must be expressed by Jesus in his declaration of himself. Yet how simple is this declaration, how small the circle of the chief thoughts expressed! This simplicity warrants the originality. It is a security that the testimony is not the presentation of a self-invented theology,[1] but that it is based on recalling what was most essential in this side of the doctrinal instruction of Jesus. The fitness of each separate discourse to its occasion and surroundings assures us that it is put in the right place. And finally, the internal necessity of the thoughts, and of their succession, shows that the body of each discourse is given without essential addition or omission.

In the case of such discourses as these in John's gospel, it is true that greater freedom of expression is not merely possible but unavoidable, than in the case of the sententious discourses in the synoptists. At least the freedom in the two places must be of a very different kind. In the synoptic sayings, the sentences themselves are less open to change, but could easily be united in many ways, and be put here or there in the historical narrative, because the separate maxims are more finished in themselves. In John the form is more fluid. The thoughts, indeed, here also have committed themselves to single great and firm words, as 'life' and 'light,' or to particular points of thought and characteristic turns. Or a hold for the memory is found in the objections of the opponents, which, whether following by necessity from their range of thought, or whether occasioned by various keen or paradoxical words of Jesus, prompted Jesus to further discussion. In spite of all this, the nature of the case here permitted and demanded greater freedom of movement in the expression.

(3.) *The Farewell Discourses of Jesus.*

The case of the farewell discourses of Jesus in the presence of his disciples is, I think, different. Although there are starting-points for the memory in short, finished sentences, like xiv. 6, 9, 14, 18, 24, 27, and in questions by the dis-

[1] Reuss, 'Ideen zur Einleitung in das Evangelium Johannes.' *Denkschrift der theologischen Gesellschaft zu Strasburg*, 1840, p. 18.

ciples, xiv. 5, 8, 22, etc., still the connection with given external circumstances is lacking to a much higher degree than in the earlier discourses. True, the beginning of chap. xiv. is induced by the whole position, and we may explain the figure xv. 1 ff. from the situation. But there are no further such connecting links to be found. In addition to this, there is a much greater relationship between the discourses xiv.–xvi. than is the case with earlier ones. For although each paragraph has its particular thought, warns or comforts or promises, or treats of the relation of the disciples to Him and to the Father, or among themselves, or to the world, yet these turns of thought stand much nearer to each other than the discourses referred to above.

To make up for this, these indeed were spoken in a single situation, the earlier ones in situations widely differing. We have therefore here only one discourse, though, in comparison with earlier ones, it is communicated much more in detail. The free movement of the writer will then be greater to this degree than before. Not as if the essential thoughts and their succession had not been present to him, but he draws the manner of the execution much more from himself here than in the other discourses. Nevertheless, it is merely that he sinks himself with his whole thought-life into the thoughts of Jesus' farewell discourses, and draws from these what he writes. All that which he apparently gives as his own is not his own, but is necessarily contained in the foundation thoughts which he knows to be Jesus', and which he has kept for himself with most vivid reminiscence in the memory of his heart. He only needed to declare the essential contents which he beheld in them. Much may have been spoken by Jesus in a different form of expression. It changed itself involuntarily for the evangelist into the form which he had imprinted on his gospel. This form corresponded to the form of that species of Jesus' self-witness which he had made the contents of his gospel, as the essential contents of the preaching of Him. And he brought it to his gospel because his thinking and speaking had indissolubly grown together with this form in a life of constant reminiscence.

The Johannean discourses in general touch not seldom upon

the synoptic ones;[1] and even in this part, most peculiarly Johannean, there are such points of contact. The comparison with the pain and the joy of a bearing woman, xvi. 21, has entirely the mark of synoptic discourses, and could take its place among them without causing confusion. It has always been remarked that xv. 20 touches closely on Matt. x. 23 f. The following passages, as well as those just mentioned, are regularly quoted as Johannean in wording, and yet may well be compared with the respective synoptic verses: xiv. 1 with Luke xii. 32; xiv. 12 f. with Matt. xxi. 21 f., Mark xi. 24; xv. 2 with Matt. xv. 13; xv. 6 with Matt. iii. 10, vii. 19; xv. 14 with Matt. xii. 50; xv. 27 with Luke xxiv. 48; xvi. 1, 32 with Matt. xxvi. 31; and xvi. 15 with the well-known passage, Matt. xi. 27.

Neglecting these somewhat external comparisons, the figure of the orphans, xiv. 18, is like the figurative speech of the synoptists, as when they tell of the bridegroom and the wedding company, Matt. ix. 15. Compare also the parable, xv. 1 ff., with the synoptic ones; the prophecy in John of what the disciples had to expect in the world, with the like prophecy in the synoptists; and the form of expression, xvi. 16, with similar enigmatical forms in the synoptists. If we turn from such parallels, we find the thought throughout these four chapters both in itself the most simple, as it necessarily sprang from the entire historical situation, and also put in its simplest form, so that it cannot be conceived of as different from what it is. Hence we may discover in this method of speech the original manner of Jesus, which He used when He wished to express such thoughts.

This result would receive strong support were Frommann's[2] distinction just,—namely, that the doctrinal form of the evangelist was a scholastic, dogmatic one; of Jesus, on the other hand, a popular one. This distinction, however, can scarcely be carried out in comparing the first epistle with the gospel, and still less in considering the gospel alone. The nature of the case makes the first epistle more doctrinal than the gospel,

[1] See Godet, *Commentar zum Evangelium Johannis*, German translation by Wunderlich, Hanover 1869, p. 659 f. A new edition now issuing in French and German, also an English edition.

[2] Frommann, *Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff*, Leipzig 1839, p. 51.

because the former is a doctrinal writing; the latter, a historical writing. Yet even in the gospel itself there is very little to be found that can be designated as the evangelist's own doctrine. It is of course undeniable that the prologue has a different character from the farewell discourses. That is because these latter are a gushing forth of the heart of Jesus' love, while the former is the evangelist's instruction for his reader.

Similar distinctions are found elsewhere. But this road does not lead to our desired aim. It is of no importance to pick out single expressions of a more scholastic kind from the parts which belong exclusively to the author, to contrast these with figurative and allegorical methods of speech from the doctrinal portions by Jesus, and thereupon construct the characteristic difference between the two doctrinal components of the gospel. This is useless, because they both divide too evenly on both sides.

The proper way is to inspect the various discourses and doctrinal portions, and look at their distinctive character as a whole. If we then perceive that the discourse of the Baptist has a different character from the conversation with Nicodemus; that the latter, again, differs from the talk with the Samaritan woman; that, on the contrary, Jesus is more curt and repelling in the synagogue at Capernaum than at Jacob's well; that, in the debates also, the language grows sharper in proportion as the opposition is heightened; that at the end, however, x., the language passes into more finished parabolic speech, and only returns to the keener method of speech when the opposition again becomes pointed; and finally, that in the farewell discourses there is an almost leisurely detail, partly of warning, partly of doctrinal instruction, and partly of figurative discourse, until, with the frame of mind, the language also rises anew to the highest earnestness;—if we perceive these differences between the various paragraphs, we are not to conclude from them that the language of Jesus and of the evangelist differed, and so argue a historical basis for the gospel. They show us simply at each point the connection of the passage with the definite historical situation. We see how the remembrance of the special historical event was connected with the remembrance of the peculiar character of the corresponding discourse.

Were the discourse but the exposition of an idea, it would be to a much greater extent uniformly doctrinal in its separate parts. The fact that this is not the case tells us that it is more historical than modern criticism wishes to admit. As for the language of the two, of Jesus and of the evangelist, we must confess that it is hardly to be distinguished. After what we have above discovered, to which may be added what we said as to the character of the disciple loved by Jesus, and with the presupposition that this gospel was written by that disciple, we may say that he no more makes Jesus speak his own language than he himself writes in Jesus' language. When a personality is entirely given up to another, we can expect nothing else than that the language in which it declares doctrinally the inmost impression of the other personality should be determined by the language of this other.

The evangelist received into his soul Jesus and His self-witness. He made this knowledge his own by the assimilating process of a long life. He at last scarcely knew how to distinguish between what was his own and what was not. The foreign substance had become entirely his own, and his own thought and life only thought and lived in the other person. Hence the evangelist reproduced the words of Jesus just as they had stamped themselves on the memory of his heart as the deciding power of his life. On the one hand, the words of Jesus are for him the treasure of his memory, and are entirely distinct from his understanding of them. We feel how 'every word which he had once heard from the mouth of Christ was sacred to him, and that in the very manner and form in which he heard it.'[1] On the other hand, the instruction of Jesus is so blended with his mind, and he reproduces it so thoroughly from his innermost, most specially personal, mental life, that the fourth gospel is the most subjective of all.

To acknowledge this, is not to make concessions whose consequences must lead to the acknowledgment of a lack of historical character. Keim[2] is utterly unjustified in taking 'subjective' as synonymous with 'historically arbitrary.' We have here not the objectivity of a chronicler, or of an epic

[1] Ewald, *Die Johanneischen Schriften*, Göttingen 1861, vol. i. p. 34.
[2] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 122.

poet, but an objectivity mediated and made inwardly living by the spirit of Jesus Christ.

The reason that the fourth gospel contains such an excess of discourses and dialogues, in comparison with the external historical account, is found in its entirely doctrinal character. We must therefore inquire how fact and idea, as they say, or how history and doctrine, stand towards each other in our gospel.

5. History and Doctrine.

Reuss[1] says that our gospel reports, in the first place, not facts, but speculatively-begotten ideas, in the form of history; the ideas being sought out in and established by Jesus' discourses. Baur goes farther, and thinks he can prove that the history is itself modified by the idea,—indeed, that it was chiefly born of the idea. His followers echo this, down to Keim,[2] who finds in the gospel a religious philosophy of history, upon which, as a base, the history is shaped freely by the writer.

We have seen that our gospel is historical. And we have likewise perceived throughout that it is not simply historical; that what is historical serves a further purpose. It is so thoroughly historical, that even the discourses are an essential part of the history related in it. And yet it is to such a degree not merely historical, that certain points of history are not completed at all. They only form the introduction for doctrinal instruction, so that it seems to be the chief design of the evangelist to reproduce the latter. Thus the conversation with Nicodemus, in the report of the external event, really has no conclusion. The same thing is true of the following account of the strife between the Jew and the disciples of the Baptist. In each case the historical event serves only as an introduction for the succeeding doctrinal instruction. The latter corresponds in the first place to the evangelist's design; the rest is only valuable in proportion as it is related to this. In chap. xii. we are told that the Greeks desired to see Jesus. But nothing is reported as to how far their wish was fulfilled.

[1] Reuss, 'Ideen zur Einleitung in das Evangelium Johannes.' *Denkschrift der theologischen Gesellschaft zu Strasburg*, 1840, p. 18.

[2] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 121.

Yet this last case shows us that that historical lack of completeness is not to be taken too strictly. The three accounts mentioned are the only ones in which this is the case, unless perhaps vii. 45–52 might be added. And, moreover, they are not so incomplete as they seem to be. For these Greeks doubtless saw Jesus, since He began to speak publicly. Nicodemus probably went home after the instruction received, pondering Jesus' words in silence. And the disciples of the Baptist simply strove no longer with that Jew. These issues are not particularly mentioned, because they exercised no influence on the development of Jesus' history.

It is an entirely different matter when Jesus meets the Jews. Here the evangelist does not neglect to remark what impression, favourable or unfavourable, Jesus' words made on the hearers. Since this is uniformly the case through the whole gospel, we perceive that it must have been part of the evangelist's design to make this side of the history prominent. He occupies himself, on the one hand, with the revelation of Jesus; and, on the other hand, with belief or unbelief. As far as the history offers him fit material for this, he relates it; as far as it does not, he leaves it out.

Did he not, however, as Baur and his school so confidently assert, make up the history just so as to clothe his thoughts in an external dress? The distinction which we observed, as to the report of the separate events, refutes this assertion. Why does he not give those accounts a conclusion, such as he had need of? Why does he leave them unfinished? Clearly because the issue was of no further moment to him for carrying out his design. Hence he did not make the history. He took it and used it as far as it could be of service to him. Moreover, that very thought of the gospel, if we have rightly designated it, is only the expression of a historical fact.

Still another observation confirms this view,—namely, the evangelist gives a selection. We pass the fact that he himself says so at the end. The question is, whether this really be the case. That it is, is quite evident. At the close of the fourth chapter, why does not the evangelist proceed with the account of His stay in Galilee, instead of leaping suddenly to Jerusalem, although quite a long time intervenes? And thence the evangelist does not exactly lead us back to Galilee,

but we find ourselves there again without further remark. For at vi. 1 we are not to supply at ἀπῆλθεν ('went'), 'from Jerusalem,' but 'from the western shore'; see the exposition. When vi. 2 says with the imperfect, ὅτι ἐθεώρουν[1] τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίει ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσθενούντων ('because they saw his miracles which he did on them that were diseased'), it transfers us into the then present; and therefore it hints at a time of Jesus' activity in Galilee, like vii. 1. We see that the evangelist is acquainted with the Galilean activity of Jesus, and presupposes it; but he does not intend to relate it. He only presents certain portions of it as they suit his purpose. Keim[2] names it directly the 'selection gospel,' and says that it is therefore 'one-sided.' We reply, that if it is 'one-sidedly' historical, it is nevertheless historical.

If the evangelist first had wished to make up the history for the idea of his gospel,—whether more or less, is immaterial,—how could he have given a selection? How would he come to hint at an extended activity, or to report anything else about it? The Clementina have often been compared and put together with our gospel. This, it is true, is a somewhat peculiar union. But never mind. In what an utterly different way the history is there made from that which we find here. The Clementina are a connected romance.

Our gospel is not merely a history of the life of Jesus; nor is it mere doctrine, but both. Therefore it is history meant to teach something. The doctrine, however, is not any one you please, for which also another history could have suited. The essence of this history itself is the doctrine, which the gospel intends to establish in the history. At least, it so presents its history as to make us believe that the idea, which it wishes only to clothe with the form of this history, is not a chance or a foreign idea, but the thought of the history itself. Even if we should consider the history as an exposition of the Logos idea, the Logos, in the evangelist's intention, must be considered to be present concretely in Jesus, and not as to be sought and recognised elsewhere outside of Him. The contents of His doctrine are the contents of the history, and that its essential not its chance contents. The contents of both

[1] [B reads ἰθεώρουν: ℵ Γ Δ support the ἰώρων of the 'received text.'—C. R. G.]

[2] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 122.

are—Christ on the one hand, belief and unbelief on the other. If he selected and combined his history with this in view, the only question remaining is—whether he really found this thought in the actual history, or whether he brought it in from without.

We saw at first that he assumes the appearance of having found it in the history. Perhaps he deceived himself. The whole hypothesis of Baur and his followers—that the evangelist must have 'transposed' his material because he subordinates it to an idea—rests on the presupposition that he could not have taken this out of the history. If he could have done so, it lay in the history, could be recognised in it, and could be established in the presentation of the history. Hence the prominence of the idea is in itself no hindrance to historical reality, if the former be not of such a character as to be irreconcilable with the latter. But if the idea chiefly comes to light in the discourses of the fourth gospel, we have already assured ourselves as to them, that they agree thoroughly with the history.

Why should the gospel be unhistorical on account of the ruling idea? Because it does not agree with the synoptists? Suppose, however, that in these, too, the history is subordinated to a fundamental thought! For Lücke[1] wrongs them when he discovers in the first three only chance combination of separate stories from the life of Jesus, with 'the character of being fragmentary, and partly accidental and incomplete.' And the later theology has constantly recognised more fully that a definite thought lies at the base of the first three gospels also,—a thought which conditions the selection, arrangement, and presentation of the historical material. Be this so, what security have we, on Baur's principle, that the synoptists are more historical than the fourth gospel? If the fundamental thought of the former be found and established in the real history, why cannot the same thing be done with the latter? And if it is not the case in the latter, it will not be the case in the former. Thus we finally rest, with our ship entirely upon the sand—the sand of the idea. The idea

[1] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. pp. 158, 202; also Reuss, 'Ideen zur Einleitung in das Evangelium Johannes.' *Denkschrift der theologischen Gesellschaft zu Strasburg*, 1840, p 12.

would at last have begotten the whole gospel history, doubtless also the person of Christ, and we should again reach safely the point against which Baur[1] expresses himself so decidedly. Or are we to suppose that the life of Jesus was not rich enough to allow of its being considered and presented from different points of view lying within itself? If the lives of other great ones of history bear such treatment, how much more His, every single point of whose self-witness enclosed in itself an infinity!

They think that all this is refuted when they appeal to the Logos idea. This is a foreign idea, only transferred to Jesus, and developed in the gospel in its different phases. If we look more carefully, we perceive in the first three gospels as well the alleged various points of this idea. That Jesus calls Himself the Son of God by way of eminence,—we now neglect the nearer contents of this designation,—and that He therefore stands in an exclusive relation of communion with the Father, finds its analogy in the synoptists, as Dorner[2] has shown. A difference in the representation of Jesus will not surprise us, as soon as we learn that the fundamental thought presented in the history is a different one. Yet a resemblance is not therefore entirely lacking. Above all, it must be most strongly emphasized that, in the other evangelists also, the person of Jesus has an absolute importance, both in relation to God's revelation, and for the fate of the individual, for all history, for the whole world. His sphere is the world. He is the judge of the world. The issue of all things is connected with His person.

If Matthew could write of Jesus once in such a Johannean way as at xi. 27, he could have done it oftener—if he had wished. Simply to say that this passage stands alone in the synoptic gospels, is to say nothing. As to His being called the Son of God in the synoptists as in John, He may name Himself so, as in the latter, or He may be so addressed by the demoniac, Matt. viii. 29, or by the disciples, xiv. 33, or by the centurion, xxvii. 54, or He may be condemned under

[1] Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, pp. 64, 69.

[2] Dorner, *Entwickelungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi*, 2d ed., Berlin 1851 (Stuttgart 1845), vol. i. p. 79 ff. of the *Einleitung*.

that title, xxvi. 63, or He may command to baptize in this name, xxviii. 19. This phrase, therefore, and this knowledge, are not foreign to the first gospels. If it does not come into the foreground in Matthew so much as in John, the reason is to be found in the design and plan of his gospel.[1]

Matthew agrees with John perfectly in one point, and the same is true for Mark and Luke,—namely, that the object of his preaching is the very person of Jesus. He presents Him in a more special relation, and in a narrower circle, in reference to Israel. John has the world in view. But this cannot astonish us, if we only consider for what readers, and therefore from what point of view, the two gospels were written. We see that the second point of view is not foreign to Matthew, from the fact that the absoluteness of the importance of Jesus, and therefore of His person, forms for him the background against which the person and work of the Saviour of Israel come forth to view. John makes that, however—that which is entire and comprehensive in the person of Jesus—the peculiar object of his testimony.[2]

If the entirety of the importance and of the person of Jesus be also present in Matthew as background, the various sides will not be lacking. What are the points of the Logos notion? That Jesus is the absolute life, the absolute light, and so forth. When we recall the fact that the miracles have a descriptive meaning, we have the above points in the synoptists in the raising of the dead, the healing of the blind, and the like. Further, life and full satisfaction are connected with His person, and with membership in His kingdom, which consists in Him. He saves His people from sin, Matt. i. 21; Luke ii. 11; compare John iv. 42. He gives full satisfaction and the vision of God, Matt. v. 3 ff., and eternal life. All things —life, its possession and loss, Matt. x. 39, and the essential knowledge of God, Matt. xi. 27 — are connected with His person.

There will, accordingly, be nothing left at last to be exclusively attributed to John in distinction from the synoptists,

[1] See as to this, Hofmann, *Der Schriftbeweis*, 2d ed., Nördlingen 1857, vol. i. p. 139 f.; and Luthardt, *Die Eigenthümlichkeit der vier Evangelien. Vortrag*, Leipzig 1874.

[2] See Hofmann, *ut supra*, p. 141.

save the pre-existence of Jesus. But when we consider what the synoptists wished to do with their gospels, we shall easily perceive that they only fail to speak specially of this, because they had no occasion for it in their books. That the pre-existence is directly excluded by their representation, is yet to be proved. The absoluteness which, as we saw, they ascribe to the person of Jesus, and especially the position they assign to Christ in their eschatological doctrinal passages, demand the pre-existence necessarily.

Keim[1] finds in the fourth gospel a comprehensive philosophical view of the universe, with a dualistic basis. The gospel, with its various features, is sketched into the network thereof. Such a philosophical plan and purpose of the book does not agree with its own declaration. At the end, xx. 31, we read that it aimed, not at imparting certain speculative ideas, but at effecting belief on Jesus Christ,—at a personal, religious, moral relation to the historical person of Jesus Christ. The book stands in the service of these practical interests, and not of a philosophical one. It intends to give the history of salvation, and not speculation. It is the work of an evangelist, and not of an Alexandrine philosopher of religion, after the manner of Philo.

We may reverse Reuss'[2] words, that our gospel contains theology—namely, John's—historically presented, and say that it contains history — namely, Christ's — theologically written.

In saying so, however, we have already reached the heart of the question,—what the evangelist intended in his book. Hence, the design of the Gospel must form the theme of the next section.

[1] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 108, and elsewhere.

[2] Reuss, 'Ideen zur Einleitung in das Evangelium Johannes,' *Denkschrift der Theologischen Gesellschaft zu Strasburg*, 1840, p. 18.

IV.

THE DESIGN.

THE evangelist himself tells expressly the design of his book, xx. 31. But this determination of its aim has always seemed too general to suffice for an explanation of the work. Hence they attempted to define the aim of the gospel more closely, even in the early church. Clement of Alexandria thought it designed to supplement the first three gospels dogmatically; Eusebius said, historically. Irenæus supposed it to attack Cerinthus and the Gnostic heresies.[1] In agreement with their own construction of the history of the most ancient church, Baur and his school tried to explain this book from a purpose related to the various questions of the second century. Against that, Credner[2] reminded us, with perfect justice, that we should 'give more credit' to the 'personal declarations' of the evangelist, 'than to the discrepant assertions of others.' Yet even this might be so misunderstood, that, like Reuss, we should withdraw the book from all historical relation to the times, and finally, see nothing in it but a theological treatise. It is a gospel proclamation of Jesus Christ, made under entirely definite personal and historical circumstances. We must therefore at the same time distinguish from each other, and correctly combine with each other, the following two things: upon the one hand, the book in itself, its character determined by the thing it presents, and the corresponding aim; and, on the other hand, the historical relation to the times, in which relation the above described proclamation of Jesus Christ places itself, and

[1] See on this, Credner, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Halle 1836, p. 243 ff.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 251.

by which it intends to fulfil its vocation exactly in its own time.

We must now establish this by considering the various aims which have been attributed to John's gospel.

1. The Supplement Hypothesis.

When we compare the fourth gospel with the three earlier gospels, we cannot help thinking that the author of the former paid some regard to the latter. This regard can be taken in two ways. It may be understood of the historical matter[1] or of the whole character of the gospels.[2] Of late this view has been often defended, as by Schulze, Hug, Ebrard, and Ewald.[3]

The evangelist certainly takes for granted much that is told in the synoptic gospels, and that is necessary to make his account intelligible; see xi. 1, 2, xviii. 24, 28. At times, again, it supplements the synoptists, or pays respect to them, or brings its own account into due relation to theirs; see ii. 12, and especially iii. 24. As the apostle did not act 'unconsciously' in what he did, Ebrard[4] concludes that he intended to supplement the synoptists. But this conclusion is too hasty. The question is, what was the aim of the gospel book, and not what lay on the road to this aim? Lücke[5] and Baumgarten-Crusius[6] allow that respect was paid to synoptic tradition, but deny that it was paid to the synoptic

[1] Thus Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. xxiv. 11, *Opera*, ed. Dindorf, Leipzig 1871, vol. iv. p. 114; and Jerome, *Catalogus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum seu de viris illustribus*, cap. ix., ed. Cyprianus, Frankfort and Leipzig (1722), p. 33.

[2] Clement of Alexandria in Eusebius, *ut supra*, VI. xiv. 7, p. 258. See also on this, Lampe, *Commentarius Evangelii secundum Joannem*, Amsterdam 1724, vol. i. p. 174 ff.; Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. p. 187 ff.; and Credner, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Halle 1836, p. 243 ff.

[3] Schulze, *Der schriftstellerische Charakter und Werth des Johannes*, Weissenfels and Leipzig 1803, p. 194; Ewald, *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft*, Göttingen 1860, vol. x. p. 90.

[4] Ebrard, *Herzog's Real-Encyklopädie*, 1856, vol. vi. p. 728.

[5] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. pp. 198, 199.

[6] Baumgarten-Crusius, *Theologische Auslegung der Johanneischen Schriften*, Jena 1843, vol. i. pp. xl. and 1.

books. The number of the gospel writings at the end of the first century was too great for this, they say. But the introduction to Luke's gospel scarcely authorizes us to assume such a large number. And the smaller sketches soon vanished before the larger canonical gospels; indeed, nothing is now left of them. Moreover, the regard which John's gospel shows for the synoptic account, presupposes such a special knowledge of the history that we can scarcely conceive of it aside from the written description of the gospel history.

But it is one thing to say that the author of John's gospel presupposes the existence of the synoptic gospels, and quite another to say that he went to work to complete them. This last is to be denied.

An aim so extraneous and fragmentary could never be made to agree with the internal and decided unity presented by the fourth gospel. It is also inferring too much, and contradicts the book itself. We see that the evangelist uses in his book, not only unknown, but also known things, i. 23 ff., iv. 44 ff., vi. 1 ff., 16 ff., xii. 1 ff., 12 ff., xiii. 21 ff., 38, xviii. 12 ff. He did not set himself to make a gleaning. With all the material lying before him, he chose whatever proved to be directly fitted to carry out his special aim.

Conceive of the circumstances of the times as they may, all agree that the synoptic gospels existed when the fourth was in process of writing. Therefore, the most natural thing is to consider the regard paid to synoptic tradition in John's gospel, as regard paid to the synoptic gospels. Nor will this opinion now be likely to meet with much opposition.

A somewhat different turn has been given to this hypothesis, by referring the supplementation to the dogmatic character of the synoptists. It is well known that Clement of Alexandria suggested this long ago, in designating the fourth gospel as the spiritual one. It is well known, too, how ingeniously Lessing has interwoven this thought with his theory of the gospels.[1] When he implies that true believers first got the idea of the divine person of Christ and of his mediation from the gospel of John, it is as much as saying that it was by this gospel that Christianity first became a doctrine. On this

[1] Compare Lessing's Works, ed. Lachmann, Berlin 1839, vol. xi. pp. 495–514, §§ 42–44.

supposition, it becomes purely a book of doctrine, and ceases to be historical. This gospel teaches nothing about Christ that was not part of the self-witness of Jesus. Christ himself laid the foundation of the knowledge of Christ as the Son of God. Such knowledge is therefore older than the account of this self-witness, unless the self-witness is just a form invented for the teaching of this newly-gained knowledge. The last thought offers a view which we think is excluded by all that precedes.

Baumgarten-Crusius and Lücke have clothed in another form, the answer to the question concerning the relation of the fourth gospel to the first three. For my part, it seems to amount to the same thing. Lücke is of the opinion that at first they needed simply the most complete possible collection, prepared in writing, of the gospel tradition contained in the oral accounts. Matthew and Mark belong to this class of the gospels. Then, after a time, they needed one that handled the gospel history critically, and in a more chronological and pragmatical connection. Here came Luke. And at last, the advance of πίστις to γνῶσις ('faith to knowledge') converted the history of Jesus to dogmatical matter of doctrine. This demanded a gospel that set forth the life of Jesus under certain points of view in reference to then present questions, doubts, and divergent conceptions, and in which history and doctrine, fact and dogma, practical meditations and dogmatical vindications, reciprocally interpenetrated each other.[1]

But what if the gospel of Matthew presents the gospel history under a definite point of view? This is, indeed, quite evident. For the first gospel is not a mere collection of separate stories. It is a polemical and apologetic book; polemical, against unbelieving Israel, proving its guilt; apologetic, for Christian Israel, showing the good Scripture basis for its Messianic belief. Indeed, it is improbable from the first that the gospel books should intend to be only a collection of stories. The interest of early Christendom was not merely historical, but also religious, in salvation. The preaching of the gospel and the composition of gospel books was intended to satisfy this interest. They wished to prove the saving decree

[1] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. p. 201 ff.

of God in its historical fulfilment in Christ Jesus. When Peter preached the gospel to Cornelius (Acts x. 36 ff.), he did it after the method of our gospels.[1] He told the single events, not for their own sake, but in order to proclaim the revelation of the saving decree of God. This gospel message was meant to satisfy, not curiosity, but desires for salvation, and so were the gospels, which were only the fixing of this κατήχησις ('oral instruction'), Luke i. 4, in writing. Hence they are far from being mere collections of all that people knew of Jesus. They would have had much more to tell even if they had confined themselves to Jesus' Galilean work. It is one thing when a Papias gathers all the words of Jesus that had been preserved up to his day, by oral tradition outside of the canonical gospels. It is another thing when the gospels give historical testimony to salvation in Christ.

The same thing is true of Luke's gospel. Lücke judges incorrectly of the gospel of Luke. He thinks that what was wanted, and what was aimed at, in it was a critically sifted historical exhibition for cultured Christians—an exhibition made by a man fitted for literary work. We may understand καθεξῆς ('in order'), Luke i. 3, as we please; one thing is easily to be seen,—namely, that the aim of this book is not exhausted in the historical order of time, and in a regard to external completeness. This appears as soon as we compare the beginning of the gospel with the close of Acts, the second half of Luke's historical work, and draw therefrom the foundation thoughts.[2]

That progress of πίστις ('faith') to γνῶσις ('knowledge') is also somewhat different from what it is often thought to be, following Lücke. We proceed here from Baumgarten-Crusius, because the view he presented has repeated itself with manifold modifications down to our day. His opinion is this: At first they learned of the person and work of Christ only after the Palestine view and in a Messianic conception, and other teaching was limited to the most simple pious discourses. Paul made that view broader, and the story of Christ became

[1] Compare Thiersch, *Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpunkts für die Kritik der neutestamentlichen Schriften*, Erlangen 1845, pp. 90, 110 ff.

[2] Compare on this, Hofmann, in *Lichtenstein's Lebensgeschichte Jesu Christi*, 1856, p. 479 ff.

part of the world's history. Enthusiasm and belief in the person of Christ were raised to reflection. In the midst of this movement, and of the disturbances and party battles which arose from it, a new doctrine and a new view stepped in. This was the theology of John. From the original simple belief on the ideal or on the superhuman essence in Christ, and from the Pauline view of Christ as a personality divine in powers and effects, they rose to speculation upon the God in the man Jesus, to whom they now gave the mysterious name of the Logos. Christ himself, from being something external, came to be something internal. From this time they began to take up his work in a different way historically, in a more spiritual and in a broader manner.[1] If Baumgarten-Crusius supposes that the gospel of John neglects the history of Jesus' life, and devotes itself to his word, he has overlooked two facts,—namely, that Matthew and Luke contain much of the words of Jesus, and in return, that in John the history of Jesus' life is the foundation of the book, and that the word of Jesus is only meant to enable us to understand the person and history of Jesus in their essential meaning. If Jesus spoke as the fourth gospel makes Him speak,[2] and if this gospel be historical, as Baumgarten-Crusius assumes, it cannot be the monument of a new conception and doctrine of the person of Christ. Baumgarten-Crusius excepts from the historical account the 'theologizing about the Logos,' and the prologue with its 'speculative flight,' which 'even the most outspoken passages in Jesus' own discourses upon His person do not equal.'[3] The exposition, however, will show that the prologue contains nothing that could not be taken from the discourses of Jesus. It was therefore but logical that the above view led to denial of the historical character of the whole account, until Baur's school arrived at the 'romance of the Logos,' or Keim at the 'dualistic philosophy of religion.' But the presuppositions found in Baumgarten-Crusius' view are incorrect.

The New Testament doctrine—or perhaps we had better say the word of God in the new covenant—has certainly had

[1] Baumgarten-Crusius, *Theologische Auslegung der Johanneischen Schriften*, Jena 1843, vol. i. pp. xiv., xv.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. xxxv. [3] *Ibid.*

a history, but a different one from what is often imagined. The ruling view is, that each apostle, or New Testament writer, had at heart his own peculiar doctrinal conception, varying more or less from that of every other. Each has presented his doctrinal conception in his writings. Such a view makes the New Testament writers philosophers or professors, and attributes to them a one-sided intellectual purpose, which, at least in this form, was foreign to them. All New Testament preaching was a proclamation of salvation in the service of an intellectual, not of a practical, need. Salvation is always the question. The answer to this question was the person of Jesus and its history. In such a sense the evangelists and apostles proclaimed Jesus Christ and His history just as the historical situation at each point required. They did not write like philosophers, who were urgent to publish their self-invented thoughts, or like party leaders, who were trying to spread their partisan views.

There was, of course, a progress in the proclamation, but only in connection with the progress of the tasks which the historical situation of the different periods of the church appointed. Knowledge grew in union with this, yet this progress was only the ever fuller and more varied development and application of the essential knowledge which the disciples possessed from the beginning in belief on the One raised to the right hand of the Father. They did not unite to the Christian creed thoughts and views brought from without, or their own theories, so as to make 'peculiar doctrinal conceptions.' On the contrary, the facts of the history of salvation form the foundation. All doctrine is but knowledge and explanation of these facts, and all preaching is the application of that knowledge as demanded by the historical vocation of the man in question, and by the task presented.

It is not right to speak of a history of doctrine in the usual sense within the New Testament Scriptures; and it is just as wrong to speak, with Lücke, of the progress from the first three gospels to John's, as the progress from πίστις ('faith') to γνῶσις ('knowledge').[1] That would make John enter the sphere of the false Gnosticism of the time, both as to contents

[1] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. p. 215.

and as to form. Now, it is hard to conceive how an apostle could have accommodated[1] himself to the Gnosticism which was upturning the very foundations. How John especially, who is described to us in tradition as certainly not the most friendly in his relations to Cerinthus, could do this, is to me utterly inconceivable. Indeed, the gospel tends not towards γνῶσις, but towards πίστις. The fact that πιστεύειν ('to believe') is designated as γινώσκειν[2] ('to know'), and in other places as ἀκούειν ('to hear'), ἀκουλουθεῖν ('to follow'), etc., is not a proof for, but against, this theory. The last word of Christ, xx. 29, like the last word of the evangelist, xx. 31, speaks not of γινώσκειν, but of πιστεύειν. According to that, not the former, but the latter, is the aim of the gospel. And if we compare the conclusion with the separate parts, we find throughout that πίστις, in opposition to Jewish unbelief, and not γνῶσις, in its relation to belief,[3] is the essential and designed substance of the gospel. If all depends upon πίστις, we need not stop to prove that it has the same meaning in the gospel of John as in the epistles of Paul. Closer observation could easily show that its idea is the same. Notice just one fact. It is opposed to sight, xx. 29; compare Rom. iv. 18–20; 2 Cor. v. 7; and Heb. xi. Its object throughout is the essential purport and meaning of Christ and of his life. Its effect is σωτηρία ('salvation') in its fullest extent, as well as delivery from the wrath of God, iii. 15 ff., 36.

We have the gospel proclamation of Christ before us in a fourfold form. The different books do not offer different doctrines. They teach historically and preach for instruction one and the same Christ; only each has its own method. They differ according to the varied sphere for which the proclamation was intended—the need which it was to satisfy; and the whole historical situation by which it was called forth, demanded the emphasizing different sides of Jesus Christ, and also brought these ever more into the light for the personal knowledge of the writers.[4] For the first church of Christ

[1] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. p. 214.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Compare Lücke, p. 215: 'Thus John leads the Christian Gnosis back to its true ground and purport in living belief.'

[4] See Luthardt, *Eigenthümlichkeit der vier Evangelien. Vortrag*, Leipzig 1874.

within the bounds of Israel the method of the first gospel was the right form for preaching Christ. Hence Matthew used a definite material exactly fitted for this design. The next two gospels show us what shape the same material takes when it is made known to Gentile Christian churches. These gospels confine themselves to the same material, because they are neither apostolic nor yet original, but of a secondary origin. Then something else came to be needed. The commonwealth of Israel fell to ruin, and the distinction between the Gentile and Jewish Christians within the Christian church lost its earlier meaning, so that it was no longer to be considered in the evangelical teaching concerning Christ. At this time, in opposition to the general enmity against belief in Christ, they needed the general proof of the necessity, possibility, and nature of belief. And against the reviling of Christ they needed the most general declaration of him. The fourth gospel supplies this want. It presents the person and life of Christ in its most essential and most comprehensive significance for a church which by this time was the church of believers in the world of unbelief. As the separate divisions of the church were no longer of any importance as divisions, instead of presenting separate sides of the appearance of Christ in evangelical writings, they had but to tell plainly the whole of it. If any one chooses to call this a supplementing of the synoptists, seeing that, although not done with direct reference to them, it was yet not done without reference to them indirectly, we have no objection. But this is in a different sense from the ordinary one of a historical appendix or of a new theology.

2. The Polemical or Apologetical Purpose.

There is scarcely a heresy that the ancients did not think our gospel was directed against. Irenæus names Cerinthus and the Nicolaitans; Jerome adds the Ebionites; Epiphanius continues, *καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς αἱρέσεις* ('and many other heresies'); Victorinus Petavionensis, however, strays off to Valentinus. The same paths have been used ever since in searching for an answer to the question about the purpose of the gospel and the explanation of its peculiarity. Hugo

Grotius thinks that the Gnostics, the Judaizers, and the disciples of John are those aimed at by the evangelist. The Gnostics reckoned among their Eons, λόγος, ζωή, μονογενής, and σωτήρ ('Logos, Life, Only-begotten, and Saviour'), the Creator, Christ, and Jesus separate from each other. The evangelist proves that all these mean one and the same Jesus Christ. In like manner he opposes Cerinthus and Ebion, because they Judaized under the Christian name. And he also strikes at such as wished to be called disciples of John the Baptist rather than of Jesus.[1] Some, as Vitringa, confine the opposition to the Gnostics to the prologue. Others, as Hug, think that Cerinthus and the disciples of John the Baptist are the only ones aimed at. They have made a great ado about the latter since the last century. They believe that these disciples of John are the Sabeans that have been discovered.[2] Chapter i. 8, however, is the only passage in the gospel that gives any support to this theory concerning the disciples of the Baptist, and it only when misunderstood. It was the alleged discovery of the 'Johannean Christians,' by the Carmelite missionary Ignatius à Jesu,[3] which brought this hypothesis to currency. On clearer and more correct perception of this point,[4] this reference has been essentially moderated, though still retained by Ewald[5] and Wittichen.[6] Moreover, the statement as to the relations of Christ and the Baptist is conditioned on the dogmatical as well as on the historical plan of the gospel, and does not require a polemical reference to the school of John, of which school there was probably

[1] Compare Grotius, 'Annotationes in Evangelium κατὰ Ἰωάννην.' *Opera*, London 1679, tom. ii. vol. i. p. 473; or 'Annotationes,' Erlangen and Leipzig 1755, vol. i. pp. 945, 946.

[2] Compare Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. pp. 222–227.

[3] *Narratio originis, rituum et errorum Christianorum S. Joannis*, Romæ, 1652.

[4] See Petermann in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und Leben*, 1854, No. 23, 1856, No. 42 ff.; and in *Herzog's Real-Encyklopädie*, Stuttgart and Hamburg 1858, vol. ix. pp. 318–324; and Holtzmann, *Schenkel's Bibellexicon*, vol. iii. pp. 324–328.

[5] Ewald, *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft*, vol. iii. p. 154 ff.; *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 2d ed., vol. vii. p. 152 ff.; *Die Johanneischen Schriften*, Göttingen 1861, vol. i. p. 13.

[6] Wittichen, *Der geschichtliche Charakter des Evangeliums Johannis*, Elberfeld 1868, p. 83.

nothing left at the time the gospel was written. When Holtzmann[1] makes from this an ideal picture of the reception of John's school into Christ's school, described in more concrete colours in Acts xix. 1–7, he deserts all the historical connection of the gospel.

As for the Gnostics, Lampe[2] observed that a historical book was not a very suitable form for polemics in the strict sense. Nor does the fourth gospel bear the stamp of a polemical writing. It does not enter specially into the peculiar doctrines either of Cerinthus, or of the Gnostics, or of the Ebionites. His proclamation may stand opposed, and that, as Ebrard[3] claims, 'not unconsciously,' to these false doctrines. Thus far we can accept Grau's[4] discussions. But that is not to say that he made polemics against them the real aim of his book.

Schneckenburger thinks that he finds, not a positive, but a negative opposition to Docetic Gnosticism.[5] He says that the evangelist has left out everything which seemed to sanction the error of these Gnostics. The transfiguration, the agony in Gethsemane, and the cry of Jesus on the cross: 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' are wanting. But Luke leaves the last out too; and Matthew and Mark omit the strengthening of Christ by an angel. And if this were the case, why did John need to mention the walking on the sea, vi. 16 ff.? If the anti-Docetic aim is so clear, how does Baur come to find plain Docetism in it? At all events, neglecting these objections, to assume fear of Gnostic misinterpretations as a motive for composition, is altogether unworthy of the writer of this gospel. Besides, this book is of such a general bearing, that, as the commentaries show, the exposition does not need all these hypotheses to understand it.

If the supposition of a polemical purpose is as wrong as

[1] Holtzmann, *Schenkel's Bibellexicon*, vol. iii. pp. 324–328.

[2] Lampe, *Commentarius Evangelii secundum Joannem*, Amsterdam 1724, vol. i. p. 181.

[3] Ebrard, *Herzog's Real-Encyklopädie*, Stuttgart and Hamburg 1856, vol. vi. p. 731.

[4] Grau, *Entwicklungsgeschichte des neutestamentlichen Schriftthums*, Gütersloh 1871, vol. ii. p. 414 ff.

[5] Schneckenburger, *Beitr. zur Einleit. VI.*, 'Das Evang. Johannes und die Gnostiker,' Stuttgart 1842, pp. 60–68.

that of supplementation, will it not mend the matter to join the two together, as Hug[1] and Ebrard do?[2]

We read thus in the last: 'The aim with which John wrote his gospel lay, first, in an external and internal completion of the apostolic proclamation of Christ,—to recall the events passed over by the synoptists, the journeys to the feasts, and the history from the baptism of Jesus to his public appearance,—to bring to light those words and features of Jesus in which the speculative, mystical side of his work and character reveals itself; and secondly, in the warring, not only against Gnosticism and Ebionism, but also against the want of love and life. The aim was therefore two, yes, fourfold. But the four aims were most intimately woven together in the execution.' Add to this, that 'the polemical aim is directed, as is agreed, in the clearest manner,'[3] chiefly against Docetism, as i. 14 shows, and that 'the plan of John was to present Jesus in so far as the glory of the Father appeared in him,' so that he brings to perfection 'the idea and the conception of the real, eternal δόξα ("glory"), made manifest in the historical Jesus,' and the 'δόξα as an object of speculation.'[4] Thus Ebrard also finds an attack on the disciples of John in i. 8, 20.[5] Ebrard has combined nearly all the different opinions which have been suggested for the design of the gospel. No explanation is given, nor can any be given, to show how such a variety of purposes should form such a unity,—how from such a multiplicity of points of view and aim a book of such unity as our gospel certainly is could have arisen.

Schott[6] does not better matters much by saying that there is nothing polemical in the gospel. He prefers to speak of an apologetical purpose. Seyffarth[7] had, before that, named our

[1] Hug, *Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 4th ed., Stuttgart 1847, vol. ii. pp. 166–171.

[2] Ebrard, *Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte*, 3d ed., Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1868, p. 1064.

[3] Ebrard, *ut supra*, p. 169, note.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 170.

[5] Ebrard, *Herzog's Real-Encyklopädie, ut supra*, vol. vi. p. 730, note.

[6] Schott, *Isagoge historico-critica in libros Novi Fœderis sacros*, Jena 1830, p. 141.

[7] Seyffarth, *Ein Beitrag zur Special-Characteristik der Johanneischen Schriften*, Leipzig 1823, p. 39 f.

gospel 'an apology for the sublime dignity of Jesus.' That is only the same thing in another form.

Thus Schott[1] justifies those who think that the evangelist refers at one time to the disciples of John, who did not sufficiently recognise the Messianic dignity of Jesus, i. 7, 8, 15, 19–34, iii. 26 ff., v. 33 ff., x. 41 ff.; at another time to the error of Cerinthus, who separated Christ from Jesus, i. generally, and especially i. 18; and then, again, to the opinions of the Docetæ, i. 44, xix. 34, xx. 20, 27; and lastly, to all kinds of doubts and scruples about the dignity of the Saviour and the truth of his history, ix. 13 ff., xi., especially 47 ff., and about his death and his resurrection, xix. 34 ff., xx. 24 ff. Here, as before, arises the same dividedness of the thoughts and of the design of the evangelist, which is irreconcilable with the finished unity and internal necessity of the whole composition. Credner's answer[2] to such attempts will ever stand to uphold the right view. De Wette[3] thinks as Schott does. He gives the gospel an anti-Judaistic and an anti-Gnostic aim. But is the strife against Jewish particularism essentially stronger and more designed in John, especially when we think of iv. 22, than it is in the synoptists? Do not the latter teach the rejection of Israel and the calling of the Gentiles? And with regard to the second point, its purpose to combat the errors which 'would not own the mutual agreement of the old and new revelation' cannot be so very clear, for Fischer and Schweizer have found exactly the opposite purpose.[4] Thus this is in the same situation as the above-mentioned contest against Docetism, which De Wette also accepts. The idea that the evangelist throughout wars against Gnosticism especially,—that he sought to give the true direction to the awakening Christian speculation upon the relation of Christ to God,—leads us to Lücke. He has by preference given the polemical view this turn and form.

[1] Schott, *Isagoge in N. T., ut supra*, § 40, p. 144.

[2] Credner, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Halle 1836, vol. i. pp. 243 ff., 251 ff.

[3] De Wette, *Kurze Erklärung des Evangeliums und der Briefe Johannis*, 3d ed., Leipzig 1846, p. 2.

[4] Compare also Brückner's contesting of De Wette's view in the 4th ed. of De Wette, Leipzig 1852, p. xvii.

This scholar likewise calls our gospel anti-Gnostic and anti-Ebionistic in its purpose.[1] But if the evangelist wished to show the essence and the fulness of Christ by the most comprehensive and most general declaration of Him, how could his book have helped standing in opposition to Ebionism? It certainly could not well do otherwise. From the beginning to the end, therefore, it is in contradiction to the Ebionistic view. The contradiction is, however, one that lies necessarily in the thing itself. It did not need to be specially aimed at Ebionism, nor do separate passages show such an aim. The opposition is common to the whole book. According to Lücke, however, the anti-Gnostic relation is the prevailing one. But if we ask for the place at which it appears, he does not name the whole gospel, as before, but only the prologue. In the rest of the gospel this purpose does not rule, except in so far as the doctrine of a Logos overmasters the historical recital.[2] Now, of course, as this is peculiar to the author, he cannot present it in the discourses of Jesus. Moreover, as far as the gospel is historical, there is no doctrine of a Logos in it, and so far, too, it is not anti-Gnostic. As the whole anti-Gnostic purpose is thus reduced to the doctrine of a Logos and to the prologue, how can this be called the prevailing purpose?

Look at the prologue, too. The ideas *ζωή, φῶς, σκοτία* ('life, light, darkness'), are not a whit more anti-Gnostic here than in other parts of the gospel. *Μονογενής* ('only-begotten') is used, not to oppose a Gnostic Eon of like name, but upon the ground of a later-given self-declaration of Jesus, and includes nothing more than that did. And thus, too, the above ideas rest altogether upon Jesus' own testimony concerning himself. We should not dare to say of Jesus' evidence concerning himself that it refers 'to speculative contrasts;' and we must not dare to say that the evangelist is busied with the 'speculative contrasts of eternity and time, God and creature, heaven and hell,' and on that account to speak of a 'speculative tendency, and therefore of a philosophical cultivation of

[1] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. p. 217.

[2] *Ibid.*

mind,' in him.[1] The evangelist intends to give, not speculation, but the history of salvation. Those great ethical contrasts are only spoken of to this end. Of course, the proclamation of the evangelist includes the deepest knowledge. Everything aims at the religious relation between God and man, and its practical realization. That is, however, the opposite of a speculative purpose. After all, we are here led back to the single word λόγος ('Logos,' 'word'), and to this solitary idea. I call it solitary, because we find no unfolding of its contents which would be different from the doctrinal contents not only of the gospel, but also of the prologue, which were then present and complete. On this account, too, we can find no authority for the position[2] that the evangelist intended to overpower the false Gnostic speculation, by opposing to it that Christian gnosis and speculation which externally was like it.

Should we say, with Thiersch,[3] that this gospel is meant to raise the Nazarite view of Christ to true and full knowledge? But it is altogether unlikely that it was written 'with Israelitish Christians in view.' The sphere in which it rose, and for which it was first of all meant, was almost exclusively Gentile Christian. If, indeed, the διασπορά ('dispersion') in 1 Pet. i. 1 necessarily marks Jewish Christians, then this position might be untenable. But it has already been said by others, that 1 Pet. i. 14, ii. 9 (compare Acts xxvi. 18), iii. 6, and iv. 3, of necessity point to Gentile Christians.[4] Acts viii. 4, xi. 19, show and teach that διασπορά could be said of Gentile Christians. The New Testament church had to scatter itself outside of Jerusalem, and the Christians also are διασπαρέντες ('dispersed'), hence they live in διασπορά; that is, they have no outward earthly centre. Jas. i. 1 is different; for, in addition to the decisive δώδεκα φυλαί ('twelve tribes'), διασπορά has the article which is here wanting. Hence the word is rather a mark of a condition

[1] Against Ebrard, *Wissenschaftliche Kritik, ut supra*, pp. 1065, 1067.

[2] Guericke, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Leipzig 1843, pp. 289–295.

[3] Thiersch, *Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpunkts für die Kritik der neutestamentlichen Schriften*, Erlangen 1845, p. 264.

[4] Compare against Weiss, *Der petrinische Lehrbegriff*, for example, Schott, *Der erste Brief Petri*, 1861, p. 323 ff.

than a firmly-fixed boundary of a society. What we know, however, from Paul's epistles, makes it clear that these churches in Asia Minor were made up chiefly of Gentile Christians. The Jewish Christian element had wholly blended itself with the preponderating mass, and the distinction between Gentile Christians and Jewish Christians had lost all importance. Judaism here took only a hostile position, and that outside of the church. We neither can say, with Lange,[1] that the gospel was written to testify against the Jewish Christianity of the time, nor can we agree with like assertions by Thiersch. The book itself gives us an utterly different impression. The Jews and Judaism appear in it as the most outspoken opponents of Jesus. The gospel is directed, not against incomplete belief, but against unbelief, and against non-Christian Judaism as the representative of it. Nor can we, with Ebrard,[2] talk of 'opposition to Ebionism within the church,' or of opposition to Gnosticism within the church. Ebrard allows that it is aimed at the Gnosticism of Cerinthus, which was certainly outside of the church.

Suppose that we do not need all these purposes to understand the essential peculiarity of the gospel. It does not follow that we must put this book out of all sympathy with its age, as Reuss does, and think that it is only the exposition of a speculative idea. Nor need we, with Keim, find therein the comprehensive view of the universe, belonging to a great philosophy of religion. We might call it, as Keim does, 'the full gospel of the perfect;' but it was nevertheless written for the Christian church and for its practical needs, and that with regard to an entirely definite situation in history. Godet[3] rightly emphasizes the point, that the evangelist is much too little of a Christian philosopher, with a merely theoretical interest in view, to have published a treatise upon religious speculation. He was a preacher of the word, and his vocation was, in a practical interest, to testify of Christ on behalf of belief.

[1] Lange, *Beiträge zur ältesten Kirchengeschichte.* I. Die Ebioniten und Nicolaiten, Leipzig 1828, p. 124 ff.

[2] Ebrard, *Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte,* 3d ed., Frankfort-on-the-Main 1868, p. 1064.

[3] Godet, *Commentar zu dem Evangelium Johannis,* German translation by Wunderlich, Hanover 1869, p. 68.

The previously named exegetes and critics almost all explain the gospel from the historical circumstances of the first century. Baur, on the basis of his general view of the formation of the Christian church, undertook to make the book comprehensible from the historical circumstances of the second century.

3. The View of Baur's School.

Baur lays down for the fourth gospel a traditional basis, but one which is in many ways modified by the ruling idea, and is joined to facts invented. The external historical connection is in his eyes simply the 'reflection of the idea.' This idea, he thinks, could not have been drawn from the circumstances of the appearance of Christ himself. In the first place, it was brought into union with the history of Jesus. Hence the history must have been essentially modified by it. This is Baur's *petitio principii*. The idea is, of course, that of the Logos which was found in the whole period. The writer of the fourth gospel took it up, and with keen insight and great skill made it the chief and decisive idea. The gospel is nothing but the self-development of this idea in its various essential points. We gladly own that, of all who have thus far treated the gospel of John, Baur has done the most to prove its internal necessary progress and connection. But he has made Christianity an idea, an objective history, a dialectic process. This agrees with his view of the early church. To him the early church presents different parties or schools striving with one another about all sorts of ideas. At last they determined to establish a reconciliation of the various views, and so out of the schools of the early Christians to make the Catholic church. Reuss made the idea live in solitude. This view removes it from solitude to the movements of time, and gives it reference in manifold ways to the times. But then we are referred at once to the second century. The essence of this book rests in the completion of doctrine. Now, the invariable law of development is that intellectual movements progress from incomplete to complete. Manifold kindred appearances of the second century stand on a lower stage than the fourth gospel. Therefore the gospel

must come after those. They might, on this principle, have put it much later than Baur does. In fact, they could not stop in the second century, or even later. There must, however, be some limit, beyond which opposing facts become too numerous and too undeniable. This limit lies somewhere about the year 170. Schwegler was the first to publish this discovery in regard to our gospel.[1] Since then the position of affairs has essentially altered: of that later. Montanism and the fourth gospel agree in relation to the clear dogmatic separation of λόγοσ and πνεῦμα ('word' and 'spirit'),[2] which before that were always used interchangeably by the Fathers. The question arises, Which of the two is the earlier? If Montanism nowhere refers to the gospel[3] of John, as it might have been expected to do, the open controversy against the Asia Minor passover carries it still later.[4] It could not have been written until after the middle of the second century.[5] At that point, however, the Jewish Christianity and the Gentile Christianity would be represented by Montanism and Gnosticism. The fourth gospel, therefore, holds an offensive as much as an accommodating[6] position towards both the movements of the period. The former it opposes by its doctrine about the Trinity; the latter, by its gnosis.[7] And as against Gnosticism, it is hostile also to Ebionism.[8] The same attempts to explain the peculiarity of the gospel, which we had to reject above, recur here. The difference is, that the second century is put in the place of the first. That makes the matter only so much the worse. Against all this comes the fact to which Thiersch has so forcibly called attention.[9] The Gnostic system of the second century was much more developed, and the strife against it was much more special, than they were in the end of the century of the apostles, and than they appear to be in the gospel of John. How should a couple of

[1] Compare Schwegler, *Montanismus und die christliche Kirche des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 1841, pp. 183–215.

[2] Remarked by Baur, *Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit Gottes*, I. 1. 2, Tübingen 1841, vol. i. p. 164.

[3] Schwegler, *ut supra*, p. 189.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 195–198.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 200, 203 ff.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 204 f.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 211 f.

[8] *Ibid.* pp. 205–210.

[9] Thiersch, *Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpunkts für die Kritik der N. T. Schriften*, Erlangen 1845, pp. 241 f., 251 ff.

passing remarks, xiii. 1, 29, xviii. 28, whose interpretation, moreover, is by no means settled, be able to, or intend to, decide the passover controversy? Such a decision would have had to be much more clear and much more emphatic. Dietlein, in his book upon the early Christianity, has sufficiently refuted the idea which lies at the bottom of this. It is that Christianity is a doctrine, an idea, a new philosophy of the divine humanity whose consciousness came forth first in Jesus of Nazareth, and the idea of which then, like all truths, came into validity only after a struggle of one-sided views.

Baur's view does not differ much from this. He shows that the essential contents consist in the relations of the Logos to the world which are in flux. The former attracts the things allied to it in the latter, and repels the things contradictory to it. Belief is presented as the synthesis of the two. The question is asked, how this gospel by the great unknown obtained so speedy an entrance and such a great, final importance in the church. He replies, that though it holds itself above all strife, yet that it touches all the disputed questions and interests of the time.

Baur presents the fourth gospel as an irenic book, free from the colour of party position, entering into no mooted questions, but only grazing their borders. Such a book is not suited to decide an active strife, or to end a great period of vehement intellectual battles. It may be remarked, that Baur finds an opponent in himself. Baur names Gnosticism, the idea of the Logos, Montanism, and the passover controversy, as the appearances of the period to which the gospel pays conscious and designed respect. He tries to explain the character and significance, as well as the unity, of the fourth gospel out of a regard to these, and a purpose to decide such disputed questions. Here he falls, in a moment, into the very mistake for which he blames Lücke so sharply. He explains the gospel not from itself and its fundamental idea, but from the external circumstances of the period. And thus he destroys again, in part, what he had established by his energetic attempt to explain the whole book and its unity out of the fundamental thoughts. Hilgenfeld[1] objects to this, as far as

[1] Hilgenfeld, *Das Evangelium und die Briefe Johannis nach ihrem Lehrbegriff*, Halle 1849, pp. 17–19.

I can see, with perfect right, that if we are not satisfied with the idea, but refer also to the circumstances of the time, we must seek from the history of doctrine what was the period and what was the form of dogmatic consciousness which correspond to this book. Hilgenfeld thinks he has found these historical-doctrinal positions by a comparison with the Valentinian Gnosticism. The likeness of the two, especially in the prologue, is evident. There were, namely, three periods of Gnosticism:[1] First, the Jewish; then, that free from the Jewish form, though still recognising Judaism and Jewish Christianity; and, at the last, that which was hostile to both Judaism and Jewish Christianity. The gospel of John stands between the second and third periods,[2] between Valentinus' and Marcion's doctrine.[3] The fact that it makes the transition from the former to the latter appears especially in one point. Like Marcion, it unites the multitude of Valentinus' Eons into one. That has its foundation in the practical purpose. It puts practical piety above speculation.[4] It was fit that this practical character should lift up the Logos from the subordinate position which was assigned to it in Gnosticism, to give it the high place of the Only-begotten, and to gather in it the whole world of eons.[5] Hilgenfeld in his later writings still holds fast to this view of the connection ot John's gospel with the Valentinian Gnosticism. Volkmar has followed him on this point.

But we do not need to recall the general law of the history of the mind, that extreme simplicity is everywhere the first thing, and arbitrary wantonness the second. This law is here directly reversed. The whole way in which the school of Valentinus used this book,[6] and no less the secure consciousness of the church writers in mentioning that, refutes such fancies.

To all this must be added, the contradiction offered by chronology to the hypotheses of Baur, Hilgenfeld, and Volkmar. For all those phenomena of the second century fall in decades in which the fourth gospel already existed and was of

[1] Hilgenfeld, *ut supra*, p. 66. [2] *Ibid.* p. 67. [3] *Ibid.* p. 123.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 123 f. [5] *Ibid.* p. 132 f.
[6] Thiersch, *Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpunkts für die Kritik der N. T. Schriften*, Erlangen 1845, pp. 233 f., 391 ff.

authority. Keim[1] has urged this so destructively against such views, that we may refrain from repeating the discussion.

What of Köstlin's view? He says that the distinction of this book consists in its presenting Christianity as absolute religion, in opposition to Judaism and heathenism. It gives a system of dogmatics which is at the same time apologetics and polemics. The book intends to teach not only religion, but also a history of religion. It presents Christianity as it became, and was, and was to continue to be, in opposition to Mosaic teaching and to polytheism.[2] There is an opposition in the gospel, not to Judaism, however, but to the Jews. No opposition to the Gentiles can be found in it. Where Gentiles come into view, they appear as inclined to believe. The Gentile world is mentioned as called to believe. Nor can it be said that it gives a history of religion. It does not speak of the mutual relations of the religious powers in the world. It treats of the personal relation to Christ. It does not deal with religion as such, but only in so far as it exists in the person of Jesus Christ, and in the personal relation to him. Therefore it is not apologetics and polemics, but it is a testimony and an instruction. It is testimony concerning Christ and the fellowship united with him in faith. And it contains instruction to the latter.

This brings us to our own answer to the question as to the final design of the gospel. We shall scarcely need to do more than gather the results of the previous inquiries.

4. The Real Design.

We have seen that the fourth gospel takes for granted the existence of the other gospels; but it does not intend to complete them, or to give additions to them. It is no more a collection of remarkable things out of the life of Christ than the first three are. It is a doctrinal treatise. As such it has no thought of bringing forth or preaching a new doctrine, as Reuss implies when he calls it a sermon; nor is it the expression of a newly-risen view of the history or of the person of

[1] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 152 ff.

[2] Köstlin, *Lehrbegriff des Evangeliums und der Briefe Johannis*, Berlin 1843, p. 40 ff.

Christ. It does not preach a new doctrine which arose, whether outside or inside of the bounds of the Christian church; nor does it express, as Baumgarten-Crusius thinks,[1] a new view which came out in the church, or which, it may be, grew up in the person of the writer, and was approved and spread abroad by apostolic authority. Nor can the book be explained by the development of πίστις to γνῶσις ('faith to knowledge') within the church, or by accommodation to the false gnosis outside of it. The point that it has in view is πίστις. This is the only, the subjective side of the gospel. But this subjective side demands something objective, which is the object of the subjective appropriation in belief. This objective thing is not an idea which the writer presents, whether taken from somewhere else, or thought out independently, or drawn from the history. It presents to us the person of Christ. And this it does without regard to the distinction between the Gentile Christian element and the Jewish Christian element of the church of Christ, and without regard to the different needs growing from this distinction and then present with it. The one whole Christ is made known to the one united church in his fullest essential power and most comprehensive and lofty significance.[2]

The book itself gives the best confirmation of this. Those two lines pass through the whole of it, from the beginning onwards: the subjective one, belief; the objective one, Jesus' divine Sonship. Both meet at the close.

Its whole character shows that it is a historical writing; and the result of our inquiries as to the mode of presentation was that it handles the history as doctrine. The question is, What does it mean to teach? It is a poor thing to stop the search after the final aim of a book at the very beginning of it, if that part does not speak clearly about the aim, and much more, if that is so shaped as to be open to the most manifold interpretations. On the other hand, if the conclusion of the book is clear, it decides and informs us about the whole, and, of course, then, about the beginning. The last word of the disciples is the confession of Thomas, which expresses the last

[1] Baumgarten-Crusius, *Theologische Auslegung der Johanneischen Schriften*, Jena 1843, vol. i. p. xvii.

[2] See Thiersch, *The Church in the Apostolic Age.* Translated by T. Carlyle, London 1852, pp. 247–249.

and highest contents of belief. The last word of Jesus is the saying as to belief, which designates the last and highest degree of belief. The evangelist combines both these in his closing words. Hence the gospel is a book upon belief as well as upon Jesus' divine Sonship,—both in one.

Belief on Christ is the aim of this book. The instruction of the disciples by Jesus has this in view, and the disciples' preaching has for its design the forming of this belief which brings real salvation. The last word of Jesus sets belief in contrast with sight. This book intends, therefore, to produce a belief which does not need sight. And the leading design of the evangelist is to note the way in which Jesus determined or tried to form this belief. Yet, while he sets forth this proceeding of Jesus, he has no thought of reviving it, or adding to its efficacy by his testimony. The way of Jesus, however, is in general the following: The miracles done by him make the first demand for belief. But the importance of these arises from them, not in so far as they are miracles, but in so far as they are σημεῖα ('signs'), signs of something hidden which can and should be perceived in them. Here the two paths of belief and unbelief separate. The evangelist has to show how the first general impression of miracles, much alike as it appeared to be when viewed from the outside, contained, according as each man presented himself to the miracles, both belief and unbelief. Even the last, however, often seemed to take on itself the form of belief. It all depended upon whether the beholder allowed the miracles to serve to him as a revelation of the concealed essence of Christ for our salvation, or whether he rested in the wonderful appearance as such—be it that he sought in it a satisfying of national pride, or of curiosity, or any other advantage. A miracle always failed to reach its object, where astonishment at that which was uncommon was the only result, and where the astonished man was not touched or decided to something moral by it. To such a one it was not a σημεῖον ('sign').

The author has to show how, according as the personality held an internal moral position or not with respect to the miracles, the first general impression developed in different men either into belief or into unbelief, and that by a certain internal necessity. Hence, throughout his whole book, he treats of

single miracles as σημείοις ('signs'). To him, the way in which Jesus saluted a Simon and a Nathanael is no less a σημεῖον than the miracle at Cana, or the many miracles which followed the cleansing of the temple at Jerusalem. In like manner, the word to the Samaritan woman, iv. 17, 18, is in every respect similar to the second Galilean, or the healing at the pool of Bethesda. Then, again, the discourse at Capernaum joins the wonderful feeding, as his following entrance into Jerusalem joins the earlier miracle, in chapter fifth, which had merely served to make the Jews θαυμάζειν ('marvel'), vii. 21, but not to make them teachable. The healing of the blind man goes before the accounts in the ninth and tenth chapters, just as the raising of Lazarus leads to the accounts which come next. And so we may well call this book a βιβλίον τῶν σημείων ('book of signs'). Not that miracles form the contents of the book, but that they have an important position all the way through it. They always serve as a starting-point for whatever the evangelist wishes especially to preach or to teach. Thus, then, the evangelist names his book. For σημεῖα must necessarily be understood with ταῦτα ('these'), xx. 31, so that the evangelist himself, and that not indistinctly, marks his book as a βιβλίον τῶν σημείων. But he calls them σημεῖα ('signs'), not ἔργα ('works'), as Lücke[1] declares. For the miracles do not come under consideration at this point in so far as they are of a wonderful nature, but in so far as they are signs of what belongs to Jesus. It is on the latter and not on the former side that they stand in causal relation to belief. We need only to mention that those who have tried to free our gospel critically from miracles have not understood it at all. It is plain that our view agrees with the whole symbolical and typical character of this book. Herder[2] might well say that in this book all that Jesus did became a sign and a miracle.

But miracles were a certain sign, of course, only where belief already existed. Before that, morally viewed, they gave merely a general impression of the divinity and of the saving power in the person of Jesus. This general beginning of belief was

[1] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. ii. p. 802.

[2] Herder, *Vom Sohne Gottes*, I. § 11, ed. Riga 1797, p. 18.

led on to certain belief by means of the word of Jesus. Therefore the word almost all through follows upon the miracles. The self-witness of Jesus, and the apostolic testimony to him as well, explain that which was veiled in the σημεῖον. Where the impression from these has been of the right moral sort, the word will be received throughout in obedience as working certain belief. Where a man cannot endure the word, that is only an indication that he has not let Jesus' general self-witness in miracles serve the purpose which it should have served for him.

Thus, in the progress from the sign to the word, unbelief developed itself out of the apparent belief which the former often produced. We see this in numerous examples. This was the case with many Jews, and this, too, was the case with those disciples who left Jesus after his discourse in the synagogue at Capernaum. In others, the belief which was only external and not yet moral, that had been called forth by miracles, was transformed and made true belief by the self-witness of Jesus. Nicodemus may be named as an example of this. With others, again, as with the eleven and the rest of those who stood nearest to Jesus, the right moral beginning of belief was present from the first. It needed afterwards only to be made more perfect from time to time, and this, of course, was effected by many purifications and cleansings in the manner of a progressive education. When, however, it reaches belief by the word of Jesus, that belief frees itself from miracles in so far as they are miracles. They are important to it only as signs, and it now recognises them as such only through the teaching word. It is all one to a believer whether the sign be of an uncommon kind or not. That which is apparently altogether unimportant can serve to him for such a sign, if he has once reached the right believing perception by the self-witness of Jesus. It was only signs in the form of miracles that offered an inducement to belief, and therefore such signs alone make the framework of our gospel. But the word is that upon which belief rests, and that by which it knows that it was really begotten and born. Hence Jesus strives to lead his disciples and all who draw near to him to such a belief upon the word and in the word. The essential purport of the gospel is to point out this method of instruction—to show how Jesus sought to free his

disciples from miracles, and to ground their belief upon the word. Of this the end of the fourth chapter may serve as proof. Our evangelist designs to follow in the track of his Master in this method of producing belief. He shows this clearly, not only by the whole drift of his book, but also by the last account of Thomas and by the conclusion of the gospel. Such a belief, then, is a right belief,—that is to say, it has the essential blessing of salvation,—it is a belief unto life.

What is the substance of this belief? We reply, that it is the same as the substance of the σημεῖα and of the word of Jesus. In both, Jesus declares himself as the one who is, ἐγώ εἰμι ('I am'), viii. 24, 28, xiii. 19. But what definition of Jesus marks him completely? The gospel gives answers from very different points of view. He is the one who should come; he is the one signified by the Old Testament; he is the truth itself, the fulness of all revelation; he is the satisfying of all the essential saving needs of men; he is the possessor, the imparter, and at the same time the place of all communion with God; he is the one come from above, etc. When Jesus and the evangelist wish to put it in one word, they say, the Son of God. It is enough to know that all that Jesus and his witness could and would say of him is contained in this one phrase. It is the special designation of the one preached. We take it also in its most comprehensive and highest sense. Jesus, in all his self-exhibition and self-witness, sets himself forth as the Son of God, whether he testifies to himself in the σημείοισ as the truth of the Old Testament, or as the life or as the light, or whether he speaks of himself in his word as the one come from heaven, the one who is in real communion with the Father, or whether he shows himself in his departure as the one raised up to God, etc. All that he says, that he does, that he experiences, and that he effects, reveals him as such. This, too, is the substance of the book. The evangelist designs to give testimony to no other than Jesus the Son of God—testimony to Him in order to the belief which has Him for its substance, and which, in consequence, has real salvation for its possession. He does not mean to preach and teach some single thing in and about Jesus, to show this side or that side. He chooses the most comprehensive designation as a sign that Jesus, in the most comprehensive sense and in his

essential signification, is the object of the preaching. All that belongs to Jesus is collected in the one ἐγώ εἰμι. The evangelist does not treat of doctrines and ideas, but of the person of Jesus Christ in its most comprehensive absolute importance.

But what He is, He is in the σάρξ ('flesh'). What he is and his glory, are to be revealed in the flesh. To his disciples, everything from the beginning on served for a σημεῖον ('sign') to make known the glory veiled by the σάρξ, i. 14; compare ii. 11. Yet to the Jews the σάρξ was a hindrance to belief. The Jews always opposed themselves to Jesus' claims in that they arose from the flesh. They said that he was untaught, vii. 15; or that they knew his origin, vii. 27; or that he was a Galilean, vii. 41. His existence had the same temporal limits as their own, viii. 57. When he presented uncommon claims for His σάρξ, by attaching salvation to it, ch. vi., or when He, in spite of the σάρξ, attributed to himself, in distinction from all men, a special relation to the Father, v. 18, x. 30, 38, they were offended. It must be acknowledged that even the disciples were surprised at the man when they first knew him; compare i. 46, 47. They, however, were helped over that difficulty by the fact that they gave themselves up in sincerity to the impression of the real personality of Jesus, and thus they reached certain belief that eternal life was decreed, and was to be found in him and in his σάρξ, vi. 68. He was the Son of God while in the flesh, in that his flesh continually demanded belief, and in that the sight of his glory was only imparted through such belief (see xi. 40), not the reverse, as the Jews would have it. Therefore Jesus comes to men at every hand with the claim for belief. If he repelled the Jews by this claim, he did the same to the Galileans. It is on this account that John brings forward quite prominently that event in the synagogue at Capernaum, chap. vi., in order to show that he spoke in the same way in Galilee as in Jerusalem. In each alike he demanded decided and strong belief, and by this demand gave offence,—repelled his hearers. That more Galileans than Judæans followed him did not depend upon him. His behaviour and his claims were everywhere the same. The evangelist intends to make this especially clear.

Besides, it was quite possible to obtain belief on the ground of his own testimony to himself as the Son of God appearing

in the flesh. He shows, by more than one example, that only sincerity and obedience towards God were required. At the very beginning, Jesus promised to the candour of Thomas, as to the others, the sight of his glory. And it will not be hard for the disciples to reach belief, since to their sincere mind everything serves to reveal the glory of Jesus. Jesus must receive, even from the mouth of the Jews, testimony that he has done enough σημεῖα to establish his claim, vii. 31, ix. 16. If they do not believe now, it is because of their unwillingness and insincerity. How often does Jesus upbraid them with the fact that when they could easily believe on him, they would not; see v. 36, 40, x. 25, 26! In the discourses, in which he rises to the highest point of opposition, he refers their unbelief to this. He accuses them with the most cutting keenness, because they were controlled by an ungodly mind, and not by the truth, since otherwise they would have been forced to believe on him; see chap. viii. From the keenness of this reproof we learn how very possible belief was to them.

But even because all rests upon belief, Jesus does not intend so to reveal himself as to make it unnecessary, nor does he mean to compel it in any way. Belief should be a moral act—that is, an act of free self-determination. Where, however, a man refuses it, the judgment comes in this form, that Jesus ever demands belief more decidedly. Thus we see both things brought out in the gospel,—not only how much need there was of belief, but also how very possible it was. This is of such moment, that even the exaltation of Jesus should bear this character of being an object of belief. With this purpose Jesus speaks to Nicodemus of his exaltation, and from that time onwards this idea shines clearly. It is repeated in the fact that the judgment, upon the refusal to believe, appears to be that the demand for belief must be pressed only the more decidedly upon those who do not believe. The unbelief of the Jews caused that the exaltation of Jesus should first take place upon the cross, and that only after that it rose to heavenly glory,—the former openly,—the latter, however, concealed from men. When they saw the exaltation of Jesus first fulfilled in the death on the cross, they should have believed on the crucified Son of God. But this belief was

then only the harder for them, and yet could in nowise be spared. To the disciples, on the other hand, the death on the cross was a power which first called forth rightly their believing love (for now, for instance, it is that we see Nicodemus come out openly), and which therefore also rewarded their belief with the sight of the glory. At the cross that miracle of life was granted to the disciples to be permitted to behold the corpse of Jesus, xix. 34 ff. Moreover, the unbelief of the Jews had caused that the transfiguration and ascension of Jesus to glory should be concealed from the world, xiv. 22. And thus it was made doubly hard for them to believe in the glorified and ascended one whom they could not see, and whom they had last seen as a dead man, and that on the cross. Therefore they sought him in vain, and had to die in their sins, viii. 21, 24. His own disciples, on the other hand, received now the fullest certainty of belief and completeness of belief. Soon after, the one to whom both of these would come with the most difficulty, gave the ripest and highest confession of belief, xx. 28. Belief is now so perfected, that it can dispense altogether with the preceding sight.

We see that the whole gospel is taken up to such a degree with belief and its necessity and possibility, that, in fact, everything aims at this. The essential design of the evangelist is seen to be the setting forth and proving how both belief and unbelief unfolded themselves from their own very first and yet undecided beginnings. He shows that belief where it once was present became ever easier, and where it once was refused became ever less possible; and yet that the demand upon both for belief stood unchangeable in its necessity. How, then, can they say that this gospel has especially to do with γνῶσις ('knowledge'), and let this idea overmaster that of πίστις ('faith')?

We can say in a few words what belief consists in, according to his showing. It is, that a man, led by the signs of His revelation, on the ground of the words of his self-witness, receives and submits to the Son of God in the flesh, and through this, because entering into a personal relation with his person, comes into personal communion with Him, and thereby possesses the real blessing of salvation, which is He himself, and which is in Him. Standing in such personal

communion with him, the man beholds more and more the fulness of his glory, and draws more and more from the fulness of his grace. We need not dwell on this, as we are not now stating doctrine.

There is no need of further proof that what we have found to be the final aim of this book is not only peculiar, but is also in itself harmonious and complete. It will be enough to recall how well it agreed with the result of the strife about those opinions which sought the final aim of the book outside of itself in a diversity of ways. We not only can do without other aims, but even, in fact, we have no room for them at all. For partly, as we have learned, the final aim is in itself too decided, and partly it is so essential to the book, that this circumstance alone must assure us that the whole book is to be understood by it. The proof of this belongs to the exposition.

It is another question whether the evangelist had regard, in the composition of his book, to contests of the times, and to dangers threatening the Christian church. He wrote his book not for himself, but for others; not for solitary study, but for the use of the church. The church, however, stands in the midst of the unbelieving world. Hence, he sets his testimony, and therefore, too, the full testimony of Christ, to the Son of God and belief on him, against the unbelief of this world in which the believing church and believers stand, and against the peril which this unbelieving world offers to belief, and to the divine communion in the belief on Jesus Christ.

Jesus himself, however, when upon earth, came in contact with the unbelief of the world in the Jews. Therefore the evangelist, in the history of Jesus, cannot speak of belief in Him without opposing to it the unbelief of the Jewish people. Such is the internal necessity of this opposition, which has been misinterpreted in so many ways. The evangelist, according to the whole method in which we saw that he grasped his task, had necessarily to oppose to the belief which Jesus demanded, the unbelief which Jesus experienced. And just as necessarily he had to oppose to Jesus, the Jews as the representatives of unbelief. Nor was it essentially otherwise with the church of Christ. Where else, in opposition to the church and its belief, did unbelief stand as a decided power, and as

an act of free self-determination, except in the Jewish people? Their very existence outside of the church, although the latter had begun in the former, rested on the fact that they had refused, and continued to refuse, belief. Many single Jews stood within the church; but that does not matter here. The people as a whole had the characteristic of its then present existence in the fact that it was in opposition to the church of Christ, and that it contested with it the title of church of God; just as in the days of Jesus, in spite of many single believers out of Israel, xi. 45, xii. 42, the people as a whole steadily refused belief, xii. 37. This was their peculiarity, that they set themselves in opposition to Jesus and his claim, and disputed with him that he was the Son of God, while for their own part they took the position that they were God's people, viii. 41, ix. 28, and Abraham's seed, viii. 33 ff. Besides, if the church for which the evangelist wrote is the believing, in contrast with the unbelieving world, then, in the first place, it is in contrast with unbelieving Israel. Moreover, if the evangelist bears witness to belief and for it, in opposition to unbelief, then he does it first of all in opposition to the unbelief of Israel. This is not a special aim of the gospel, but an opposition lying in the thing itself. We cannot say that the aim of the gospel is an attack on the Jews of its day. They are only considered by it as representatives of unbelief. And just as little can we speak of an attack upon the various historical forms of unbelief at that time in Gnosticism, Docetism, Ebionism, etc. However different these heresies may be otherwise, they agree in one, and that the chief point. They do not see and believe in Jesus as the Son of God in the flesh. This is the very unbelief which is the characteristic of Israel. The evangelist has opposed his gospel to these errors just in so far as they belong to that unbelief. Even if he knew of Gnosticism, Docetism, etc., they existed for him simply in so far as they were unbelief towards Jesus, the Son of God. Otherwise he paid no attention to them. We should never forget that this holds good for all apostles and New Testament writers. What did the apostles have to do with Eons and the rest of the strange notions of the heretics? No one of them takes notice of any of these, but only of their unbelief, the common possession of them all, the

power in the world striving against the church of Christ; see Eph. ii. 2. Even in his first epistle, which, in the nature of the thing, has a much more decided reference than the gospel to the appearances of what is anti-Christian in the world, John recognises them only as unbelief, and urges a controversy against them only in this,—that he sets in opposition to them the belief in Jesus, the Son of God, in the flesh. He never troubles himself about their special doctrines. This is true even of the false doctrine of Cerinthus, who is historically declared a contemporary of John at Ephesus. Nor did he refer to this error in its single principles, so as to permit us to call the gospel, as Keim[1] does, 'the clear, sharp, complete answer to this Cerinthus.' For John ignores the special doctrines of Cerinthus, such as the relation of God to the creation of the universe, the virgin birth of Jesus, or the union of the Son Christ with Jesus at the baptism, and His withdrawal from Jesus at the passion. On the contrary, he opposes to this form of unbelief his harmonious testimony to Jesus' divine Sonship. Thus he pierced it in the heart, just as he does the effort of to-day, to urge the ideal Christ as contrasted with the historical one. Hence, again, it is altogether impossible to say that he has attacked Gnosticism, and the other heresies of the time, since he has not even once specially considered them. Even the controversy between classes of Gnostics,—that which separated Docetism and Ebionism from each other, and perhaps from Gnosticism in general,—even that lay altogether outside of his discussion. He considered only the one opposition, common to them all,—namely, of unbelief towards the truth of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. What belonged under this at that time might belong under it in the future, and hence the testimony of the evangelist was directed against this, according to the word of Jesus to his disciples, xvi. 8–11. This is the polemical and apologetical side of our gospel.

We need, now, no other reason for the presenting of this complete testimony to Christ. The reason for it is the position of the church towards the unbelieving world in general, and towards the non-Christian method of thought, as expressed in the manifold shapes of the then existing error. Against

[1] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 151.

this error John bore testimony to Christ. He declared the highest truth concerning Him, and he put this truth in contrast, not with single forms of non-Christian error, but with the essence of this error. His testimony would have been much the same had no Cerinthus existed. It must have seemed to him especially fit that he should bear it, if he knew the earlier gospels, and saw how they brought to view only particular sides and satisfied particular needs; if he knew himself to be the last of the apostles; and if he was really the one whom we know from our gospel as the beloved disciple, and who as such was, by his individual cast of mind, specially gifted and prepared by God for this testimony. If we suppose a divine providence in the leading of the church, we may say that God could not have left the church without such a comprehensive apostolical testimony to Christ, and would have seen to it that the church should receive it.

Unbelief presented itself to John in many different forms; and it is very likely that the form of unbelief which was most clearly marked in his time served for an external occasion and for the strengthening of his design. And, besides, the prayers of the Ephesian presbyters may have reached him. But the former is as little essential to the question as the latter.

They began at an early date, and constantly grew more accustomed, to use our gospel against the different forms of error. In consequence, they thought it was also written against these. The catalogue of the opinions combated increased, till Epiphanius briefly adds, 'and many other heresies.'[1] Where, however, they could not date back the heresies in hand to the apostolic age, they helped themselves by saying that John had written his gospel foreseeing the blasphemous tenets of the Gnostics.[2] But this only shows how they made a special design of attack or of reference simply out of the possible use of the gospel.

[1] Epiphanius, *καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς αἱρέσεις.*

[2] Irenæus, 'Providens has blasphemas regulas, quae dividunt Dominum, quantum ex ipsis attinet, ex altera et altera substantia dicentes eum factum, *Contra Hæreses*, III. xvi. 5, *Opera*, ed. Massuet, Paris 1710, p. 206; or, *Opera*, Leipzig 1853, vol. i. p. 509.

V.

ARRANGEMENT AND CONSTRUCTION.

Baumgarten-Crusius.

BAUMGARTEN-CRUSIUS is willing to allow a definite arrangement of the subject-matter of our gospel only in general.[1] The part after the prologue contains, first of all, testimony and particular views.[2] The narrations of the remaining parts of the gospel arrange themselves under works, struggles (to which also the misunderstandings on the part of the Jews belong), victory, and glorification; the two last from the thirteenth chapter onwards. No one would be justified in wishing to find throughout a further, perhaps an advancing, arrangement. 'Those ideas are set before us only in a series of changing pictures, often inconsistent with each other, of which the evangelist could just as well have given us a few more or a few less.'[3] But the systematic character of the arrangement has always been made prominent, though commonly rather asserted than actually proved, from Cyril of Alexandria, who praised the close relation of the details to one another, to Hug,[4] who commends 'the exceedingly careful reflection and the well-considered plan which appear in the arrangement of the book, and in the choice of events for an object, even down to particulars and little things.' We see that the design of the author was not merely to give an external historical narrative. Hence the divisions of the book cannot be determined from merely outward points of view.

[1] Baumgarten-Crusius, *Theologische Auslegung der Johanneischen Schriften*, Jena 1843, vol. i. p. xxxvi.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 39. [3] *Ibid.* p. xxxvi. f.

[4] Hug, *Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 4th ed., Stuttgart 1847, vol. ii. pp. 164, 171 f.

Eichhorn thought that he found a geographical arrangement in it, after he had first divided the gospel into two halves, at the conclusion of the twelfth chapter. There is no need of refuting this.

Bengel.

Bengel, although he 'gives only a bare chronological scheme according to feasts and days,'[1] has nevertheless planned this ingeniously, as he always does. He separates the first and last week from the middle part. This he arranges in three journeys. All through, moreover, he strives to unite the point of view to the locality and the time. But he certainly does not go beyond a merely formal scheme. The internal progress of the subject itself can receive no light in this way.

Lampe.

As little can this be the case in Lampe's[2] arrangement. It separates the prologue and the conclusion, xx. 30–xxi. 25, from the proper historical statement. The prologue is a brief summary of the truths handled in the gospel. The conclusion is a declaration of the aim, the authority, and the credibility of the evangelist. It cuts the historical matter into two parts, the first of which treats of the public life, and the second of the last experience of Christ. Lampe is more external in this than in his treatment of the economy of the book, in which he finds the general aim to be the presentation of Jesus as the Messiah, the particular aim to be the presentation of Him as the Son of God, and the most special the strengthening and securing belief.[3] Then he proves these three things in the book itself,[4] but only by picking out single passages arbitrarily, instead of proving it by the very arrangement of the gospel itself.[5]

Olshausen.

Olshausen, too, has divided the gospel according to the

[1] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. p. 177, note.

[2] Lampe, *Commentarius Evangelii secundum Joannem*, Amsterdam 1724, vol. i. pp. 280–286.

[3] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 207–214.

[4] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 219 ff.

[5] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 224–226.

feasts, and that into four parts, chap. i.–vi., vii.–xi., xii.–xvii., xviii.–xxi. Now, it is certainly undeniable that the opposition, or the strife between Jesus and the Jews in this gospel, is of an altogether peculiar importance; and the journeys to the feasts, especially the Easter journeys, may be called the chief epochs of the growing warfare. But if this is made the exclusive point of view, Olshausen is in error in taking the first six chapters together. For Lücke has correctly observed that the gradual development of the strife between Christ and the world comes out in the fifth chapter. Hence the fifth and sixth chapters belong rather to the following than to the preceding. Lücke, in his second edition, tries more especially to carry out the division according to the feast journeys, because he despairs of the possibility of an internal division. The external character of this proceeding appears to me to be made clear by the one circumstance that the tenth chapter must then be assigned to two separate parts.

De Wette.

De Wette came nearer the truth. He, indeed, looked upon the first chapter as an independent part, which contained the summary essence of the whole: Jesus' heavenly origin, the testimony of the Baptist, and the first number of the disciples. But as for the rest, he saw in the gospel the history of the δόξα ('glory') of Jesus. He was thus led to an internal standpoint, whence to observe and arrange the historical material. Yet he proceeds still in quite an external way. For he takes chap. ii.–vi. together as separate examples of the activity (refusal and acknowledgment) of Jesus in Galilee, Judea, and Samaria. The second section, chap. vii.–xii., relates to the last stay of Jesus in Judea, and the preparation of the catastrophe of his death. In the second large division, chap. xiii.–xx., Jesus' glorification in death is presented again in two sections as the presentation of his internal glory, and as the external history of his exaltation. Brückner has changed none of this.

Lücke.

Lücke, in his third edition, followed up the hints De Wette

had given. More correctly than De Wette, he took together the first four chapters, omitting the prologue. They differ from what follows by the fact, that the hostility, which afterwards came forward more and more clearly, is here scarcely observable. He could find no more and no other subdivisions in the first large division, i.–xii.[1] The second division is connected with the first by the fact that Jesus' work revealed his glory, but led unavoidably to his death; his death, again, to his glorification. We are, however, not to distinguish, with De Wette, between the internal and external glory of Christ, but between the glorifying of the Father by the Son, and of the Son by the Father.[2] In this, nevertheless, De Wette seems to me to have adopted the better view. For if, according to the evangelist's design, δόξα ('glory') be a ruling conception, then Jesus' fulness of glory is here shown in the revelation of His infinite love. And His death is as much a glorifying of the Son by the Father as the reverse. But it is to be objected to both views, that the thought of the δόξα is not so excessively emphasized in these last parts. An unprejudiced consideration of the resurrection of Jesus shows that it is not primarily put in that light. The words, μή μου ἅπτου ('touch me not'), xx. 17, λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον ('receive ye the Holy Ghost'), xx. 22, and μακάριοι οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες κτλ. ('blessed are they that have not seen,' etc.), xx. 29, point us to something else. Both Lücke and De Wette neglect the great thing which here appears clearly,—that is, the fact that all Jesus' self-revelation demands belief, makes it possible, and has the design of forming it.

The same thing may be said against most of the arrangements still to be referred to.

Baumgarten-Crusius takes, upon the whole, a similar view of the matter. Only he declares more decidedly than the earlier writers, that what is external—as, for example, Jesus' journeys to Jerusalem—serves as the mere frame for the real contents.[3] We noticed above how he could not get beyond

[1] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. p. 183.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 184.

[3] Baumgarten-Crusius, *Theologische Auslegung der Johanneischen Schriften*, Jena 1843, vol. i. p. xxxvi.

the general designation: works, struggles, victory, and exaltation. He agrees with De Wette in the double division.

Schweizer.

Schweizer[1] emancipated himself from his predecessors in so far that he assumed, though somewhat uncertainly, three parts: i.–iv., v.–xii., xiii.–xx. In the first part the battle appears only at a distance. In the second it is the moving element of the whole. Though he was not the first one to remark this distinction, he was, up to that time, the one who urged it most forcibly. But, by rejecting all the Galilean miracles, he ruined the further carrying out of his plan, making it dependent upon that critical operation. We have already seen how unjustifiable this is.

Reuss.

Reuss[2] also offered a triple division, i.–xii., xiii.–xvii., xviii.–xx. It is clear that the third part bears no proportion to the first. Yet his view is adorned with many delicate observations. He limits the prologue, arbitrarily enough, to the first five verses, which give briefly, in the abstract, in transcendental statements, that which is afterwards developed in the concrete. In the first part, which sketches the relation of Jesus to the world, His attracting and His repelling activity, all the religious ideas, forming at the same time the theory of the gospel, come forth in order, and are then combined in the result of the history and in the sum of the doctrine, xii. 37–50. The second part, which shows the relation of the Redeemer to his own followers, is likewise the practical part of the gospel, the actual introduction of those ideas into the life of the individual. Hence, while what precedes was polemical and speculative, here all is more mystical. The third part offers the higher development of the two given relations, the double solution of the divine comedy in the mirror of history. In the second part, Jesus' discourses

[1] Schweizer, *Das Evangelium Johannes*, Leipzig 1841, pp. 271–275.

[2] Reuss, *Ideen zur Einleitung in das Evangelium Johannes. Denkschrift der theologischen Gesellschaft zu Strasburg*, 1840, pp. 30, 31.

form a whole, xiii.–xvii., and so they do in the first to the author's mind. For to him all discourses are constantly and everywhere present, and he pays no attention to the change of auditors, see x. 25 ff. Men, like questions and objections, are only the dialectic means used by the reporter to make Jesus' doctrine come into more living contact with the world.[1]

But the objections to Reuss must begin at this very point. For if, according to him, the first part shows us Jesus in His position towards the world, as in contrast and struggle, where shall the historical proof of this be found, if not first of all in those misunderstandings?[2] If these polemics be not historical, the historical character of the gospel account in general is given up. And if we hold firmly to these,[3] we must not make them 'simple dialectic means of the reporter.' Moreover, Reuss has overlooked the great relationship between xiii.–xvii. and xviii.–xx. It is true that the latter may be called in a certain sense a translation of that which is internal into the externality of history. But if this be so, then they do not stand to xiii.–xvii. as these do to i.–xii. On the contrary, i.–iv. separate themselves more distinctly from v.–xii. than the former mentioned sections separate themselves from each other. Reuss also contradicts himself when he makes all the religious ideas of the gospel come forward, one after the other, in the first part, at least in so far as he names light, life, and love as the three fundamental conceptions of the gospel.[4] For the presentation of the last only begins with chap. xiii., and is previously as good as not named at all. This makes insecure the whole characterization which Reuss has given of the distinction between the single parts.

This emphasizing the foundation ideas of the gospel by Reuss is touched by a solitary yet valuable utterance of Oetinger's:[5] 'For my part, I am certain that John wrote the

[1] Reuss, *Ideen zur Einleitung in das Evangelium Johannes. Denkschrift der theologischen Gesellschaft zu Strasburg*, 1840, pp. 51–53.

[2] See Baumgarten-Crusius, *Theologische Auslegung der Johanneischen Schriften*, Jena 1843, vol. i. p. xxxvi. note 2.

[3] As Reuss does, at least in the *Strasburger Beiträge zu den theologischen Wissenschaften*, Jena 1847, p. 3.

[4] Reuss, *Ideen u.s.w., ut supra*, p. 23; *Strasburger Beiträge, ut supra*, pp. 14, 15, 21.

[5] Oetinger, *Selbstbiographie*, edited by Hamberger, p. 52.

ten first chapters of his gospel with reference to the three fundamental things, word, life, and light. Christ was before John by the word; He changed water into wine by the word; He said by the word: we testify that we have seen, etc. Chap. vi. and vii. refer to the life, as is seen in every word. And, finally, viii.–x. evidently treat of the light.' He ought to have added chap. v. to chap. vi. and vii., or really only to vi.

Baur.

Baur entirely neglects this progress of the objective self-revelation of Christ in the essential ideal points of His being, which Oetinger emphasizes. It does not seem to him that anything new occurred in the incarnation of the Logos. This Logos is simply that which is divine itself, in place of which by an abrupt stroke the Person of Jesus is put. This divine thing now appears in contrast with the world of darkness. And the great question is the subjective mediation of the two contrasted objects, namely, belief. Yet this is nothing new. The relation is the same before as after the incarnation. But since this is not spoken of as an essential fact, the weight of the gospel cannot fall upon the objective history. The thing really treated at heart is the subjective side of the reception of the divinity on the part of the world. This reception, however, which the divinity meets with, appears in the gospel as a process, necessarily taking that course. For it is the elements originally related to the light, which the light attracts to itself in belief as the unity and reconciliation of both contrasts. And it is the essential points lying in the idea of belief, which present themselves in order. Hence the progress of the gospel is to be construed logically.

If we are to reach mediation in belief, the first thing is, that the existence of the light in the world be brought to consciousness. This offers the logical necessity of a testimony to the light, with which testimony the person of the Baptist is identified. Such testimony, however, must oppose itself to the world, which stands in contrast to the light; to the world in its most peculiar representation. Therefore the Baptist must give his witness before an embassy from the Sanhedrim. The Messiah, attested by this witness, and brought to con-

sciousness, must then reveal Himself, and that first in his relation to his forerunner, the Baptist. Both must be historically and ideally brought near each other, placed side by side, and compared. This must then be followed by the first self-witness of the light, which is now substantiated as that which is absolutely divine, self-witness in order to belief. The light thus approaches the world with the claim for belief. And since the world is pervaded by the physical and ethical dualism of the divine and anti-divine determination, a double result appears, belief and unbelief.

Chap. iv.–vi. contain the first movements of both, the first great point of the process. Nicodemus represents the Jewish belief, to which Samaria forms the contrast. But the belief of the Jews is in its essence unbelief. Hence it must unveil itself as unbelief, v. and vi. So soon as unbelief as such exists, the dialectic struggle with it begins, vii.–x. Unbelief, after it has unfolded itself in all its essential points, especially viii., must be brought to the last crisis, xi., xii., and that by the divinity meeting it in its fullest essentiality. The raising of Lazarus must serve this purpose. This raising is nothing but the historical dress of the idea of the Logos as the absolute life and the organ of God. Unbelief as such having completed itself, this part closes. The belief of the disciples must now be contrasted with the unbelief of the Jews. The importance of the disciples is, that they are the place and the representation of belief. Jesus therefore now turns himself to them. The previous process is repeated, only in a different form and with a different result. Belief, however, can only develope in contrast with its opposite, and the principle of darkness must be present even in the midst of the disciples. Such is the import of the betrayer. Nevertheless, this principle of darkness must now be excluded from the circle of belief if the latter is to be perfected. The idea of the Logos presents itself in the comprehensive unity of its various points, only to the belief now existing in its purity. It is the task of chap. xiii.–xvii. to depict this process.

The glory which Jesus had revealed in unfolding the idea of the Logos, as His idea, must now complete itself as historical glorification. This is effected, on the one hand, by his passion and death; on the other, by his resurrection. The former is

in view of the unbelief of the Jews, upon whom exclusively the evangelist clearly tries to throw the whole blame. It takes place especially in what happens to the body of Jesus, which, the central point of this whole historical account, is for the evangelist only the concrete aspect of the entire contents of the idea. Then the latter, the resurrection, is in view of belief. By it Jesus returns from the accidental existence in the flesh to the pure spirituality of the Logos. Thus the process of belief is completed. It frees itself from all elements which are not part of its own being, and raises itself to an absolute self-certainty which has the contents and object of its belief in itself. The great process of belief and unbelief passes along from the first movement of unbelief in Nathanael's doubt to the last vanquishing of it in Thomas. In this manner Baur treats of the gospel in ten sections: i. 1–18, i. 19–36, i. 37–ii. 11 with iii. 22–36, ii. 12–25, iii.–vi., vii.–x., xi.–xii., xiii.–xvii., xviii.–xix., xx.[1]

This is constructing a book as they used to construct history in the Hegelian school, and, at an earlier period, nature. Were the book otherwise arranged, the dialectical process of the idea would have as a result a different construction, and that with similar necessity. That is one radical fault. The other is, that all the history is evaporated into the idea. In this way both the subjective and the objective side are emptied of their concrete contents. For the belief, which the evangelist treats from beginning to end, is for the evangelist, not as Baur takes it, the internal self-mediation of the subject with itself, but the moral appropriation of the person of Jesus Christ. If, to speak as Baur does, the evangelist presents the process of belief and unbelief in its internal progress, this progress is completed, not by logical, but by ethical necessity. And the object discussed is not the Logos idea in the display of its various points, but the Son of God in his self-revelation in the flesh.

Baur makes the Son of God a phantom. It exists essentially as the Logos idea. For a while it assumes a sensible apparent existence, but only to come to the aid of belief. As soon as the latter can dispense with this help, and is strong enough to

[1] [Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, pp. 88–234. An eleventh section is xx. 30–xxi. 24; spurious.—C. R. G.]

hold purely to the idea, seeking and having it in itself, the Son of God returns into the purely ideal existence. He lays aside the flesh, which really is of no value. Nothing is to be found of such a phantom in this book. On the contrary, the simple result of our previous researches is, that the thing we are to look for in the gospel is the self-revelation of the Son of God in order to belief, or as a matter of belief. This is opposed to the unbelief of the world in Israel. We have therefore to note a double progress, an objective and a subjective one, that of the self-witness on the one hand, and that of the believing and unbelieving conduct on the other hand. The point is to find the chief periods in this double progress.

Meyer, Ewald, Godet.

Meyer starts from the self-revelation of the glory of the only-begotten Son as the theme, i. 14, and assumes five parts after the prologue, i. 1–18,—namely, i. 19–ii. 11, ii. 12–iv. 54, v.–vi., vii.–xi., xii.–xx. There is here, however, clearly no relation between the first parts (look, for example, at i. 19–ii. 11) and the last one. Ewald's fivefold division is related to this. He gives, i.–ii. 11, ii. 12–iv. 54, v. 1–vi. 14, vi. 15–xi. 46, xi. 47–xx. Yet this division is evidently much more arbitrary, although Ewald assures us that it 'is the only right one,' and 'that the apostle himself intended it thus.'[1] Godet also makes five parts: i. 19–iv. 54, v.–xii., xiii.–xvii., xviii.–xix., xx. He will have few followers in separating the last two.

The Division.

The history of the various views seems to me to show with sufficient clearness what the chief periods are. It appears plain that a new period begins with chapter fifth, and as well with chapter thirteenth. The boundaries at both places are uncertain. Yet they are drawn. A new member in the ring of the gospel begins at each point, although in a chain-like way it is connected with what precedes. On the one hand,

[1] Ewald, *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft*, vol. iii., Göttingen 1851, p. 168, note; see also *ibid.* vol. viii. 1857, p. 109, note, and *Die Johanneischen Schriften*, Göttingen 1861, vol. i. p. 18 ff.

chapter fourth unmistakably closes off. The self-witness of Christ up to that point is held in a certain generality not found afterwards. Again, the account is more connected thus far, while thenceforward various fragments of Jesus' life follow as vouchers. Moreover, geographically, a circle is described. And finally, as has been often remarked already, the growing opposition begins with chapter fifth. On the other hand, it is unmistakable that chapters fourth and fifth stand in a contrasted relation to each other, so that chapter fourth, while at first put in contrast to chapter third, at the same time by its issues prepares for what follows. Thus the close of the fourth chapter is the transition between the two parts.

The case is much the same with the other boundaries at chap. xiii. The separation of the periods here has been so frequently and strongly urged by others, that it needs no further proof; rather, indeed, a softening. For, in the first place, we must not fail to observe that the beginning of the opposition, depicted by the evangelist in the fifth chapter, finds its internal completion and its aim, first in the death-sentence by the Sanhedrim in the eleventh chapter, and not in the evangelist's reflection in the twelfth chapter. Besides, chapter twelfth begins the last week, with which the gospel closes, as it had begun historically with a week. And the thirteenth chapter only continues the account of this last supper with which xii. had begun. The *πρὸ δὲ τῆσ ἑορτῆσ τοῦ πάσχα* ('now before the feast of the passover'), xiii. 1, is to be understood in contrast with *πρὸ ἓξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα* ('six days before the passover'), xii. 1. Herder's[1] view is not so erroneous as might be supposed from the way in which it is ignored, except by Meyer: his plan was to divide the gospel into two parts: i.–xi. and xii.–xx. Yet in return the single events in the twelfth chapter, in so far as they are of a symbolical nature, combine at heart what precedes. The anointing points back to the circumstance that the hatred of the Jews has decided on His death. The entrance refers to the unbelief lying concealed even in the belief of the Jews which Jesus experienced, and at the same time it excited the wonder of the masses and the rage of the rulers. And the question the Greeks put

[1] Herder, *Von Gottes Sohn der Welt Heiland. Nach Johannes Evangelium*, Riga 1797.

carries us back to the events and discourses which had hinted at the entrance of the heathen world into the kingdom of God. The evangelist thus closes fitly with a recapitulating survey, and with a summary of Jesus' self-witness. Yet, in so far as they are of a prophetical and typical nature, all the events of the twelfth chapter point us to what is to come, and thus introduce the following period. We can therefore only say that the twelfth chapter both closes off the foregoing and forms the transition to the following, being a bond of union between the second and third parts.

We cannot, however, place other parts by the side of these two. As for the relation of chap. xiii.–xvii. to chap. xviii.–xx., of which one might naturally think next, we have already observed that the union of the two periods with each other is as close as that of two sides of one and the same thing. Baur, it is true, divides at chap. vi. and x.; but he has himself shown us most excellently that chap. vii. only carries out in growth what had been begun before, and it is impossible not to see that the death-sentence, chap. xi., only fixes in judicial form that which was previously as good as complete. These points, however, certainly show us minor divisions.

To find these latter, let us try to bring up before us in a word the character which the gospel acquires by the division thus determined. It has been often said, and it may be declared with all decision, that a dramatic character is peculiar to it. Of course it is not meant that the evangelist aimed chiefly at presenting the drama of Jesus' life for its own sake. But in testifying to the person and life of Jesus in reference to His reception in the world in the most essential importance which belongs to both, he cannot help adopting the form of a great drama. The characters are, on the one side, Jesus; on the other side, the Jews and His followers. His very character, grounded in the subject, should have made it appear unlikely from the outset that the gospel should consist of two parts. It is now hardly necessary to show further the consistency of the three parts. In the first part the threads are laid. In the second, the knots are twisted. In the third, the whole thing is resolved in the glorification of Jesus, on the one hand; and in the completion and separation of belief and unbelief,

and of the spiritual communion of the believers with Jesus, on the other hand.

It may nevertheless be worth while to remark how in this way the third part receives both the preceding into itself. Jesus' self-testimony is completed in his farewell discourses, especially in the high-priestly prayer, and in the facts of his death and of his resurrection, as the one spiritually glorified. Thus, too, the belief of his followers, which accepts this revelation of Jesus as the Son of God, was perfected. So, likewise, in contrast we behold the development of Jewish unbelief, the hardening, and the judgment which was suspended over the Jews. They would only see miracles if they were to believe. But by this judgment they were robbed of all outward support for their belief, and referred simply to the testimony of the disciples. And Jesus by his death must have been much more of an offence to them than he had previously been in the flesh. His disciples have received in an abundant manner that which the close of the second part foreshadowed. Jesus is proved to be the ζωή ('life') in the absolute sense; and the reward of belief on him as this life, is the beholding of his glory. The evangelist has thus completely proved what he said in the opening of his book.

I.–IV.

If we now turn to the arrangement of the separate parts, the first question must be as to the relation of the so-called prologue to the whole gospel. Following Lampe, it has become the custom to regard this prologue as a kind of comprehensive, foundation-laying introduction, most critics taking it to be of a very special, speculative character. And thus they separate it from the rest of the gospel as a historical book. The representatives of widely different standpoints in relation to estimating and expounding the fourth gospel, agree on this point. The fact, however, that the account in the whole prologue is kept in historical form, as in the rest of the gospel, should make that position worth reconsidering. It contains purely historical fact, declared doctrinally. Hence it is not a doctrine forming a prelude to the history. How would the testimony of the Baptist fit into such a doctrine?

And ver. 19 ff. joins closely and directly upon what precedes.

It is true that the bearing is more general than in the further course of the book. Yet the close connection is so strong, that it determined Reuss, for example, to limit the prologue to the first five verses. This proposition, however, has found little approval. The sequence of these first verses is too like them for us to make the historical gospel begin suddenly with the sixth verse, after vers. 1–5 had given the transcendental exposition. In fact, it is impossible to see why the fifth verse should be more transcendental than the tenth. To this must be added that vers. 1–5 are in themselves somewhat incomplete. We feel at the very beginning the tone of contrast. We expect something to which the first verses form the antithesis, something like the contents of the fourteenth verse. In the case supposed, this would be lacking. It must be conceded that the first five verses have a more general bearing than those following. We thus perceive that the evangelist passes more and more over to statements concerning the concrete appearance of Christ. For this very reason these opening verses, 1–18, cannot be separated from the gospel and be contrasted with the latter, the historical account of Jesus, as if they were a thing peculiar and independent.

We therefore forsake the customary division of prologue, historical narrative, and conclusion. It is not merely capable of being misunderstood, but it also rests on a false conception of the character of the introduction. The evangelist intends from the first to give testimony to the historical Christ. But in order to show what we have in Him, he contrasts his pre-human being with his human existence as its point of procedure. How can any one, then, wish to separate that side, the declaration of the pre-human, from the other, seeing that it is not treated of on its own account, but on account of the other? How can they wish to separate the declaration as to the incarnate one from the rest of the gospel, seeing that the latter has only this same one for its substance? The statement as to the Son of God in his activity and self-testimony certainly introduces this opening; but no more and no less than, in the other evangelists, the accounts of Jesus' birth and

youth, which are not separated from the rest as complete in themselves. If any one should suppose that the circumstances are different, because those evangelists intended to describe the life of Jesus, and the birth and youth belong to this, he would suppose wrong. Mark shows us how far that is from being unconditionally necessary. Those things were only mentioned where the special point of view, from which the proclamation of Jesus was conceived, demanded them. They were mentioned not for their own sake, but because, and in so far as, they belonged to the execution of the design. Hence we only allow this opening to be considered as a subdivision of the first part.

This is followed by the first introduction of Jesus to the world, i. 19–ii. 11, partly by the testimony of the Baptist, and partly by His self-revelation, both still in the most general way. I close this subdivision with ver. 11 and not with ver. 12, since μετὰ τοῦτο ('after this') introduces something new, as it does throughout our gospel; see iii. 22, v. 1, vi. 1, vii. 1. Jesus' first activity in Jerusalem and Judea follows upon this, and then by way of contrast comes his reception in Samaria and Galilee, ii. 12–iv. 54. This portion is also in two parts, by reason of the contrast which rules it: ii. 12–iii. 36 and iv. 1–54 form the two halves. Each of these two halves has complete points in itself, being tripartite: ii. 12–22, ii. 23–iii. 21, and iii. 22–36 at once appear as the three parts. The first shows us Jesus' first meeting with the Jews of that day, and with the Jewish authorities as the representatives of the Jewish spirit. The second shows us Jesus' relation and conduct towards the half-believing Jews. The third shows us Jesus' position towards the Baptist, and gives as a conclusion the latter's testimony.

The second half will also prove to be tripartite, little as it would appear so at first glance. For although the Samaritan woman serves the people of her town only as a medium of their belief, and considered in that view is one with them, yet she may also in that character be contrasted with them, just as the Baptist with the Jews as the mediator of their belief in Jesus. We must therefore divide into vers. 1–26 and 27–42, the former verses presenting Jesus in contact with the Samaritan woman, the latter with the Samaritans. There is

another thing to recommend this separation. We perceive throughout how Jesus turns on the one hand, it is true, to the masses, to the combined whole, but on the other hand also to individuals. By this he shows that for Him the single personality has an independent importance equal to that of the multitude. Hence, as in the previous chapter Nicodemus is lifted forth from the mass of the rest of the Jews, so here the one woman in contrast with the multitude. The third part then follows in vers. 43–54, in which we see Jesus with the Galileans.

We have then completed a circle, geographically and as to the subject. The second miracle at Cana points back to the first, and the numeration gives us to understand that this part is to be comprehended from the contrast with Judea. In the latter country Jesus did so many miracles without finding belief; here in Galilee he did so few, and yet belief resulted. This shows us the progress of the subject. It passes from unbelief and half-belief to right belief in the word. As for the self-witness of Jesus, he here declares himself neither as life, nor as love, nor as anything of that kind in a special way, but simply as the one come from heaven, as the revelation of the Father, as the Son of God in general; see ii. 16, iii. 11, 13, 16 [27, 31 ff.], iv. 10, 26, 42. Jesus' testimony maintains itself and revolves in this comprehensive generality.

V.–XII.

With the second part we enter at once upon the struggle between Jesus and the Jews. The fifth chapter relates the occasion, and contains, so to speak, the prelude to the contest, whose real course only follows later. Chap. vi. is connected with this because of the similarity not only of Jesus' conduct, but also of the reception he met with, and of the thought itself which lies at its base. It has always been observed that the close of this chapter forms a break. The discourse of Jesus, which points to the last events of His life; the confession of Peter, which is only surpassed by Thomas'; the allusion to the traitor, which reminds us of the end of Jesus' life; and, in general, the important position which this passover assumes in the midst of the two others which are mentioned: all these

things declare clearly that this chapter marks a pause in the account. We have therefore in the fifth and sixth chapters the first subdivision of the second part, it being again double, contrasting Judea and Galilee with each other. In chap. v. He witnesses to himself as the life of the world in his God-like activity; in chap. vi. as the life in his human nature. In the latter He declares the right conduct of men to be the reception of the life which lies determined in his flesh.

The seventh chapter leads us to the feast of tabernacles, from which proceed the things narrated as far as to x. 21. This passage is in unison in regard to time, and the evangelist evidently intends to have it considered as a whole. For he presents this single section from a long and rich activity. He hints sufficiently at that activity in *περιεπάτει ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ* ('walked in Galilee'), but he does not wish to tell about it. On the contrary, he brings forward these events in Jerusalem because the temper of the Jews here made its decision against him. Such is clearly his design. Hence we must add x. 22–39 (or 42). The last event begins with an uncertainty of judgment, and closes with the greatest decision of the hostile temper, called forth by the repeated and decisive self-witness of Jesus, vers. 30 and 38. Chap. vii.–x., therefore, will be for us the second subdivision of this part. 'I and ye:' this is at base the theme of all the discourses found here, of some more, of some less. Chap. vii. introduces what follows. Chap. viii. brings the contrast to the sharpest and most cutting expression. The sentences: 'I proceeded forth and came from God. Ye are of your father the devil. He that is of God heareth God's words,' with their development, assume therefore a central position in the whole gospel. That which begins in chap. ix. continues historically to x. 21, and as to subject-matter to x. 39. In regard to the thoughts, too, chap. ix. and x. cleave closely together, as is very evident. Even externally viewed, the close of the ninth chapter forms the direct transition to the tenth chapter. And this at the same time shows the internal relationship of the idea of the light, which rules in the ninth chapter, with the figure of the shepherd afterwards used. The latter figure enlarges gradually the circle of thought, and leads

back to the idea of the life, within which the preceding division, v.–vi., had moved.

The close of chap. x. both leads to what follows and forms a contrast to what went before. These concluding verses recall to us how the people beyond Jordan allowed themselves to be directed by the testimony of the Baptist to accept Jesus' self-witness in belief, while those in Judea and Jerusalem received but the judgment of hardening from the rich testimony of Jesus to himself.

It follows as a matter of course that the eleventh and twelfth chapters form the third subdivision of this part. The decided hostility of temper needed only a definite occasion to become the decisive deed of the decree from the authorities. The thought of death rules in these two chapters. At the raising of Lazarus we are reminded of it. The symbolical importance of the anointing points to it. The reception in Jerusalem makes us think of it involuntarily by the contrast. And the discourse of Jesus, xii. 23 ff., receives from this thought an elegiac character. Yet all this, at the same time, is pervaded by the doctrinal thought that Jesus is the life, and that the life is in his death. This is the theme for which the fact of the resurrection affords the historical proof, and it is at the same time the central thought of the discourse just named.

XIII.–XX.

Almost all previous commentators on the gospel have observed that the last part falls into the two halves xiii.–xvii., and xviii.–xx. Baur and Godet put xviii.–xix., and xx., as two duly justified divisions at the side of xiii.–xvii.; but this seems to me to contradict itself. For chap. xx. is related to the two preceding, just as chap. xvii. is to those before it. In reality, the last discourses do not begin with the thirteenth chapter. Nor do they open, strictly speaking, with xiv. 1, as almost all exegetes allege; they open with xiii. 31. These words introduce the continuous warnings, comfortings, and counsellings which compose the contents of the last conversations. In this xiv. 1 simply continues, so that it has no new introduction historically. The announcement of the denial of Peter intervenes merely on occasion of

his words, and it is a misunderstanding of the design of xiii. 31 ff. to make that the chief thing therein.

Thus, then, xiii. 1–30 precedes the last discourses as a historically introductive paragraph. The self-denying love of Jesus is unmistakably the common theme of these historical details. In contrast with this appears the glorification imparted to him by the Father. Yet, though the latter be mentioned for the sake of the contrast, xiv. 31, it is still not in the first place the substance of the following discourses. He does not find occasion to return to it till xvi. 33. And chap. xvii. moves in words of prayer entirely within the circle of these thoughts and of this mood of exaltation above the world. Therefore chap. xvii. forms the counterpart to chap. xiii. Chap. xiii. is the condescension of him to whom the Father has delivered over all things, xiii. 3, and who, in spite of the consciousness of this his elevation, gives to his disciples in every respect an example of ministering self-denial. Chap. xvii. is the elevation of the Son of God and the consciousness of this elevation, which, in spite of the fact that he is still in the world, and must still suffer from its power, raises him as victor above the world. This is easily to be seen in the fundamental thoughts of each chapter. That contained between these two contrasts, xiii. 31–xvi. 33, serves both to display his love, which is the unity of the two contrasts, in its rich fulness, and to educate the disciples, to purify, confirm, and perfect their belief.

In a corresponding way, chap. xviii.–xx. contain a contrast. The self-denying love above mentioned is answered here by the freedom with which Jesus delivered himself into the hands of his enemies and devoted himself to death. The closer consideration of this passage will show us unquestionably that the evangelist emphasizes this point particularly, both at Jesus' arrest and at his death. It is, however, the love of Jesus, by the force of which he delivers himself to death with such freedom. By the fact that the recognition of this forces itself upon his disciples in a way that cannot be resisted, the thing which was the severest trial of belief becomes a strengthening of belief. Jesus' passion and death aimed at this. And the account is especially arranged to make this appear distinctly. Thus passion and death become for

belief a revelation of the glory of the Son of God. Hence it is unnecessary for the evangelist to tell of the revelation itself, and to lay stress on the way in which Jesus was exalted. All expositions of the connection are at fault which make this point the most prominent. The evangelist speaks only of the Risen One, and tells how He, as such, revealed Himself in order to belief on Him as the Son of God.

Such is the decisive manner in which everything in these last passages is brought into connection with the real design of the gospel. But in contrast with this belief, led to perfection, the evangelist must now present the unbelief of the Jews in its completion. Hence we cannot be surprised that the account of Jesus' condemnation is ruled from such a point of view as will show what guilt for Jesus' death rests especially upon Israel's unbelief. Nor will any one have a right to say without proof, that, in order to favour this point of view, the actual circumstances are altered. This point of view lay undeniably in the history itself. The judgment of unbelief stands over against the reward of belief. Jesus only reveals himself in the narrow circle of his followers, not to the world, xiv. 22. The judgment of unbelief is even this, that it does not believe, iii. 18. For by this it stands outside of the communion of the Son of God.

The gospel arranges itself thus simply, consistently with itself, and at the same time in no wise contradicting historical probability.

It has fallen into three parts. Within these we found repeatedly a triple division. This agrees with the fact that the number three elsewhere rules in this book. The evangelist names three passovers. Three healings are mentioned: the son of the nobleman, chap. iv.; the man at the pool, chap. v.; and the blind man, chap. ix. Three other miracles are given: that at Cana, chap. ii.; the feeding, chap. vi.; and the raising of Lazarus, chap. xi.[1] We find the same

[1] Compare with this Bengel's remark at John iv. 54, in his *Gnomon Novi Testamenti*, 3d ed., Tübingen 1773, vol. i. p. 399 b; or, *Harmonia Evangelica*, 2d ed., 1747, p. 147 f. 'Hæc nimirum Johannis methodus est, ut per ternarium incedat. Tria signa refert in Galilea peracta: primum in nuptiis c. ii. sec. in regii filio, h. l.; tertium in cibatione 5000 virorum c. vi. Tria itidem in Judæa: primum Pentecostes festo, in aegroto ad Bethesdam c. v.; sec. post Scenopegiam in cæco c. ix.; tertium in Lazaro defuncto ante Pascha c. xi. Sic

thing in details. The opening begins with three sentences, and the number three predominates in the whole of the introduction. We shall therefore advance to the closer observation of the gospel, with the expectation that this will also prove to be the case still further. The first verse shows us that the first statement is complete in its three sentences. Such is the meaning of the number three, and of its use in this book. We perceive in it the finished completeness of the book in itself as a whole, and in its separate parts and thoughts.

I cannot determine myself to assume, with Delitzsch, that our evangelist 'is ruled throughout by the number three, the number of God,' because he 'has his standpoint in eternity.' Keim[1] transfers this, and misuses it for his own purposes. To me the number three seems to lie in the subject itself and its treatment, and likewise to have its physiological grounds. It expresses the internal completeness of the subject, which had thus rounded itself off for the evangelist in long inward meditation upon it. And it displays no less the tendency of the evangelist's own mind, to which this motion of thought, turning back upon itself, was natural. Hence it is that the circular form and the circular movement are proper to the evangelist in the whole and in the details. As a rule, the pattern of the construction is smaller circles, which again form larger ones. Another peculiarity is involuntarily joined to this, and appears with especial clearness in the opening. It is, that the next thought links itself, chain-like, into the last member of a thought or sentence, which is circle-shaped and complete in itself. At the same time, as the narrative in this gospel is ruled by contrasts, the form of contrasted speech

et post ascensionem tres omnino apparitiones descripsit, quibus discipulis se exhibuit salvator, xxi. 14.'

('This is John's manner, to proceed by threes. He reports three miracles done in Galilee: the first at the marriage, ii.; the second upon the nobleman's son, in the present passage; and the third at the feeding the 5000 men, vi. Three likewise in Judea: the first upon the infirm man at Bethesda at the feast of Pentecost, v.; the second after tabernacles, upon the blind man, ix.; and the third upon Lazarus, who died before the passover, xi. Thus also, after the ascension, he described in all three appearances, in which the Saviour revealed himself to his disciples, xxi. 14.') See also the close of Delitzsch's *Genesis*, 4th ed., Leipzig 1872, p. 560.

[1] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 115.

enters also into the construction of the book, and thus the triple division unites with the double one.

Before we proceed to prove and confirm in the book itself that which we have already gained, we must delay a moment to consider the question as to John's authorship. This question has become of decisive importance at present, and the answer to it is of weight even for the previous discussions.

VI.

SAINT JOHN THE AUTHOR.

1. Tradition.

CHURCH tradition designates as the author of the fourth gospel, the apostle John (יְהוֹחָנָן Jehovah is gracious). His brother James was beheaded by Herod Agrippa in the year 44 A.D. He was a son of the apparently prosperous fisherman Zebedee, probably of Bethsaida. His mother Salome appears among the women who served Jesus. He shared with his brother a natural vehemence of nature, which shows itself in Mark ix. 38 ff. and Luke ix. 54 f.; comp. the Sons of Thunder, Mark iii. 16. To this he united silent contemplativeness and devotion to Jesus. In the fourth gospel John is seen to be a scholar of the Baptist's, and from him turned to join himself to Jesus, i. 35 ff. According to the synoptists, he was called at a later date to a constant following of Jesus; Matt. iv. 21 ff. and parallels. With Peter and James he formed the closest circle of the disciples, and was a witness of the raising of Jairus' daughter, Mark v. 37, Luke viii. 51; of the transfiguration, Matt. xvii. 1 and parallels; and of the agony of prayer in Gethsemane, Matt. xxvi. 37. According to the fourth gospel, he lay on Jesus' breast at the last supper, stood under his cross, and hastened with Peter to his empty grave. And in the appended chapter, he, as well as Peter, receives a special word from Jesus.

In Acts, also, he appears repeatedly in the company of Peter, Acts iii. 1, 11, iv. 13 ff., viii. 14; the silent and contemplative one at the side of him who talks and acts. He is still at Jerusalem at the council of the apostles about 50 A.D., Acts xv. It is uncertain when he left that city. The traditions of the early church say that he went to Ephesus and

died there at an advanced age, in the time of Trajan, perhaps about 100 A.D. Various incidents are related of his residence at Ephesus, such as: the meeting his opponent, the heretic Cerinthus, in a public bath;[1] the saving the lost youth;[2] and the raising a dead person.[3] Widespread tradition says that he was banished by the Roman emperor[4] to the island of Patmos. Tertullian states that he was banished thither from Rome, after having been dipped in boiling oil without injury.[5] Jerome[6] relates that when he was too old to walk, he had himself carried to the church gatherings of the Christians, and there constantly repeated the words, 'Little children, love one another.' Long after they pointed out his grave in Ephesus.[7] It is said that in Ephesus, at the request of his friends,[8] he wrote the fourth gospel. The first three, previously written, portrayed rather *τὰ σωματικά* ('the bodily things'); he wrote the fourth as the *πνευματικόν* ('spiritual') gospel. It was said to oppose Cerinthus' error and the Gnosticism of the Nicolaitanes, defending against them the higher truth of Christ.[9]

2. Criticism.

The tradition in the ancient church as to John's authorship of the fourth gospel is unanimous. Only the sect of the Alogi, as Epiphanius named them, contradicted it. We can see, however, from Irenæus[10] and Epiphanius[11] that they did this, not upon historical grounds, or by appeal to another

[1] Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, III. iii. 4, ed. Massuet, Paris 1710, p. 177.

[2] Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. xxiii. 18–19, ed. Dindorf, Leipzig 1871, vol. iv. pp. 110–112.

[3] *Ibid.* V. xviii. 14, p. 224.

[4] Domitian, according to Eusebius, *ut supra*, III. xviii. 4 and xx., pp. 104–107.

[5] Tertullian, *De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum*, cap. xxxvi., *Opera*, Leipzig 1841, part iii. p. 25; *Bibl. Pat. Eccl. Lat. selecta*, vol. vi.

[6] Jerome, *In Epistolam ad Galatas*, vi. 10, lib. iii., *Opera*, ed. Vallarsius, Venice 1769, vol. vii. part i. p. 529 a.

[7] Dionysius in Eusebius, *ut supra*, VII. xxv. 16, p. 328.

[8] Eusebius, *ut supra*, VI. xiv. 7, p. 258.

[9] Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, III. xi. 1, *ut supra*, p. 188.

[10] Irenæus, *ut supra*, III. xi. 9, p. 192.

[11] Epiphanius, *Contra Hæreses*, II. li. 30, ed. Dindorf, Leipzig 1860, vol. ii. p. 510.

tradition, but on grounds of subjective criticism. They seem to have been of an Ebionitic, Monarchian, and at the same time anti-Montanistic turn, and to have rejected the doctrine of the Logos and of the Paraclete, as contained in John's gospel. Then, in order to free themselves from this gospel, they attributed it and the Revelation to John's opponent Cerinthus. Thus their unintelligent polemics only confirm the tradition of the origin of the gospel in John's time, and at Ephesus.

After them critical doubt long remained silent, and only came forward again in later times. It appeared with most energy at first in Bretschneider's *Probabilia*, 1820, which declared the gospel to be dogmatical and metaphysical, but not historical, and to have been written at the beginning of the second century, with an apologetical and polemical purpose, against the Jews, and aided by the higher knowledge of the Logos doctrine. The numerous replies to Bretschneider caused him to give up his doubts. The authenticity of the gospel seemed more secure than ever, and Schleiermacher's school made this book their favourite gospel, at the cost of the synoptists. The criticism which David Friedrich Strauss brought to bear on the gospel history in his *Life of Jesus*, 1835, grew to be a criticism of the gospel books. After a temporary wavering, 1838, it turned especially to John's gospel, 1840. After the headlong attacks of Bruno Bauer, 1840 and later, Ferdinand Christian Baur, in Tübingen, opened with his article on the composition of the canonical gospels, in the *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1844, the regular attack upon the Johannean authorship and the historical character of this gospel. This was in connection with his entire construction of the history of the earliest church. According to Baur, the fourth gospel did not pretend to be a historical book, but a partisan book. It sought to further the formation of the catholic church by bringing to a close the early Christian contests between Jewish and Gentile Christianity. This it wished to effect by referring to the debated questions of the second century connected with that division, such as Montanism, Gnosticism, the Logos doctrine, and the passover controversy. It drew its material from the synoptists, but shaped it according to its aims 'forth from the Christian con-

sciousness,' and with strictest consistency made the history subservient to the idea. Its origin cannot be put earlier than 160 A.D.

Schwegler, Köstlin, Zeller, and others tried to justify this view in different books and articles; Zeller, especially in regard to the testimony of the ancient church, wrote in the *Theologische Jahrbücher* for 1845 and 1847. Thiersch, on the other hand, and Bleek strove to refute Baur. Thiersch wrote in 1845 his *Attempt to Restore the Historical Standpoint for the Criticism of the New Testament Books*, offering a united view of the first two centuries to oppose to Baur's; Bleek, in his *Contributions* of 1846, and his *New Testament Introduction* of 1861 and 1866, came forward with detailed criticism. In 1849 and later, Hilgenfeld went further than Baur, and put the gospel between Valentinus' Gnosticism and Marcion's, finding Gnostic dualism in the gospel itself. But a series of investigations in the contrary direction, which proved the use of the gospel, especially by Justin Martyr and the Gnostics of the second century, compelled criticism to withdraw the origin of the gospel to an earlier date. Hilgenfeld went back to 135 A.D., and Keim[1] to 110–115. That, however, was so near to the time of John, that the imputing to the alleged Judaistic apostle a book so entirely foreign or antagonistic to him as this fourth gospel was in the view of these critics, must appear hardly conceivable.

Under these circumstances, Keim pursued the course taken by Lützelberger in 1840,—a course decidedly condemned at that early date, and particularly by the Tübingen criticism. Keim denies altogether the residence of the apostle John at Ephesus, and traces the whole tradition to a misunderstanding on Irenæus' part, and confusion of the apostle with the presbyter John. Scholten, Holtzmann, and Wittichen agreed with Keim, but were opposed not only by Steitz, but also by Hilgenfeld and Krenkel.

Were the residence of John in Ephesus certain, and yet were the gospel as it now lies before us not from him, the tradition seemed only explicable on the supposition that the gospel was connected with the apostle John, whether as con-

[1] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. pp. 146, 155.

taining Johannean fragments, or as composed by a disciple of John's on the basis of genuine reminiscences. Thus Schenkel and Weizsäcker in 1864.

Over against these, Riggenbach in his *Testimonies for the Gospel of John,* 1866, Godet in his *Commentary,* 1869,[1] and Bleek in his *New Testament Introduction,* 1861 and 1866, sought to justify anew the tradition of John's authorship.

3. The Testimony of the Church.

The external testimony for John's authorship belongs both to church and to heathen or heretical literature. It is true we have proportionally little left of the church literature, especially from the first half of the second century. Very important books are lost for us. Moreover, in what we have, the writers of the early church do not aim to give express testimony for the apostolic composition of the New Testament books. They were still in the living current of the tradition. Least of all can we expect such testimony for the fourth gospel, because its apostolic authorship was not questioned in the church, or out of it, so far as any one troubled himself about the matter. The use the church made of the fourth gospel indicated the general judgment of the church. Hence we need not wonder at finding proportionally little express testimony. But what we find is enough to make the question certain.

Eusebius.

Eusebius had a wide knowledge of the literature of the early church, and it stood at his command in far greater fulness than it does to us. In his Church History he pronounces the fourth gospel as ὁμολογούμενον, namely, acknowledged by the whole church without debate as apostolic and Johannean. On this very account he offers no detailed testimony. He says, however, that Papias, who belongs to the first half of the second century, used the first epistle of John, and we have no reason and no right to doubt this remark. But that serves also for John's gospel. For the two are so closely joined in their origin, that they stand or fall together.

[1] New edition, 1876. Translated in Foreign Theological Library.

Origen.

The learned Origen also, appointed teacher as early as 203 A.D., when hardly eighteen years old, mentions that, decidedly rejecting the other alleged gospels, the whole church had selected only our four gospels.[1]

Tertullian.

Tertullian in Africa, who died about 220 A.D., used a Latin translation of the New Testament canon, the so-called Itala. It arose in Africa, and beyond other Latin translations had raised itself to general use by its internal excellences.[2] Hence it came out not later than 150 A.D. Therefore the African church had the New Testament canon before 150 A.D., and John's gospel belonged to it. Africa, however, received this canon from Rome. It must have existed at Rome earlier; and the origin of the fourth gospel cannot be put later than 120 A.D.

Muratori, Peshito, Theophilus.

In the Muratori Fragment, the document upon the New Testament canon of the Roman church at about 170 A.D., and in the Peshito, the Syriac translation of the Bible from the same date, John's gospel appears as recognised by the church to be the apostle's composition. When, therefore, Theophilus of Antioch,[3] 180 A.D., is the first to mention John expressly, it is only by accident, and is not the expression of a view which had then just arisen.

Clement of Alexandria.

Clement of Alexandria, who died about 220 A.D., distin-

[1] Origen, τὰ τέσσαρα μόνα ἀπειλήφατο. τὰ δὲ τέσσαρα μόνα προκρίνει ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησία, *Opera*, ed. de la Rue, Paris 1740, vol. iii. p. 932, note.

[2] Compare Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata; Das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und der katholischen Vulgata unter Berücksichtigung der römischen Völkersprache*, Marburg and Leipzig 1869; and *Das Neue Testament Tertullians*, Leipzig, 1871.

[3] Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum*, ii. 22 (31), ed. Otto, Jena 1861, pp. 118, 120 (100 c); *Corp. Apol. Christ. Sæc. Sec.* vol. viii.

guished definitely between the four canonical and other non-canonical gospels. He could appeal to the 'tradition of the elders from the first,' *παράδοσισ τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων*, both by reason of his own inquiries and researches, and by reason of the connection he had with the earlier part of the second century through his teacher Pantænus. His information as to the fourth gospel rests on independent research.

Irenæus.

Irenæus, who died about 202 A.D., was by birth of Asia Minor, and by his own testimony, as we have it in his letter to his youthful friend Florinus, was a scholar of Polycarp's. Polycarp told the youthful Irenæus about his teacher John. Irenæus, removing to Gaul, perhaps about 170 A.D., carried thither and consigned to writing both his own recollections and the traditions of the Johannean circles of Asia Minor. Here, then, we have a closely knit chain of tradition from John's own time. In the third book of his great anti-heretical work particularly,[1] in warring upon the Valentinians, he has occasion to speak of the fourth gospel. He is not proving its authority, but only refuting the positions of the Gnostics by referring to it, whose authority they also acknowledged. We perceive clearly in Irenæus that the acceptance of the four gospels at his day was everywhere unquestionable. Moreover, there is a letter from the churches of Vienne and Lyons[2] to the Christians of Asia Minor about their persecutions under Marcus Aurelius. It is commonly supposed to have been written by Irenæus. It contains citations from John, xvi. 2, *ἐπληροῦτο δὲ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν εἰρημένον* ('and that which was spoken by our Lord was fulfilled'), and reminiscences, John xiv. 26.

Melito.

Of the numerous writings of Melito, bishop of Sardis,

[1] Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, III. xi. 7, ed. Massuet, Paris 1710, p. 189 b.

[2] Letter from Vienne and Lyons in Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V. 1, 2, *Opera*, ed. Dindorf, Leipzig 1871, vol. iv. pp. 183–200, especially i. 15, p. 186, and i. 10, p. 185.

at or soon after the middle of the second century, we have but few fragments, yet one of them betrays a knowledge of John's gospel. Opposing the common view of a single year's activity on Jesus' part, he speaks of three years after his baptism, clearly on the basis of John's gospel.[1]

Tatian.

Justin's pupil, afterwards a Gnostic, Tatian, in his apologetical book, *Address to the Greeks*, dated about 170, has quotations from John's gospel: *πνεῦμα ὁ θεός* ('God is a Spirit,' John iv. 24);[2] *θεὸς ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ κτλ.* ('God was in the beginning,' etc., John i. 1 ff.);[3] *τὸ εἰρημένον· ἡ σκοτία τὸ φῶς οὐ καταλαβάνει* ('that which was spoken: The darkness receiveth not the light,' John i. 5);[4] and *πάντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ γέγονεν οὐδὲ ἕν* ('all things were made by him, and without him was nothing made,' John i. 3).[5] And his harmony of the gospels, *τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων* ('that by four'), according to the statements of Theodoret, † 457, who was acquainted with the book, evidently referred also to the gospel of John.

Justin Martyr.

Justin, who died 166 A.D., is a competent witness for the church of his day, and it can be definitely proved that he knew John's gospel. Baur's school denied this decidedly at first; but after the researches[6] of Bindemann, Semisch, and Luthardt, it has given the point up, and only a few men, as, for example,[7] Volkmar and Scholten, strive to retain this

[1] Melito in Otto, *Corpus Apologeticarum*, Jena 1872, vol. ix. p. 416.

[2] Tatian, *Oratio ad Græcos*, cap. 4 (6), ed. Otto, Jena 1851, p. 18 (144 c); *Corp. Apol. Christ. Sæcul. Secund.* vol. vi.

[3] *Ibid.* cap. 5 (7), pp. 20, 22 (145 a).

[4] *Ibid.* cap. 13 (21, 22), p. 60 (152 c).

[5] *Ibid.* cap. 19 (33), p. 88 (158 d).

[6] Bindemann, 'Ueber die von Justinus dem Märtyrer gebrauchten Evangelien,' *Studien und Kritiken*, 1842, pp. 355–432; Semisch, *Die apostolischen Denkwürdigkeiten des Märtyrers Justin*, Hamburg and Gotha 1848; Luthardt, 'Justin der Märtyrer und das Evangelium Johannis,' *Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche*, 1856, Neue Folge, vol. xxxi. pp. 302–327, 350–400, vol. xxxii. pp. 68–115.

[7] Volkmar, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1860, pp. 293–300;

view. Justin's habit of designating the gospels as the *Memorabilia* of apostles and apostles' pupils, seems by its wording to indicate that he knew more than one apostolic gospel. We can prove that he used the three synoptists. Still another apostolic gospel is wanting to suit the above designation. The expectation that this is John's gospel, is confirmed by the state of the case as open before us. His Logos doctrine is not at all a preparation for the Johannean, as Volkmar and Scholten think. It rather shows itself to be a combination of the Johannean and Philonean; a product, indeed, of theological reflection, but with evident return to John's representation. Look at the utterances as to the Logos becoming man or flesh.[1] Compare John i. 3 with *τὴν ἀρχὴν δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἔκτισεν* ('He created all things by him at the beginning').[2] The citation of John iii. 3 is of especially decisive weight: *καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶπεν· ἂν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατον εἰς τὰς μήτρας τῶν τεκουσῶν τοὺς ἅπαξ γεννωμένους ἐμβῆναι, φανερὸν πᾶσίν ἐστιν* ('for Christ also said, Unless ye be born again, ye may not enter into the kingdom of heaven. But it is clear to all that it is impossible for those once born to go into the wombs of those who bare them'). The unimportant differences of Justin's text from John's[3] disappear in comparison with the thing itself, and in view of the coincidence between these words and Nicodemus' well-known objection. The certainty of the use of the gospel in

Scholten, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (Dutch ed. [1864] 1865), German ed., Berlin 1867, p. 424, *Die Aeltesten Zeugnisse*, Bremen 1867, p. 31. [See also Thoma, 'Die literarischen Beziehungen zwischen Justin und dem Johannesevangelium,' *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1875, pp. 490-565.—C. R. G.]

[1] Justin, *Apologia*, i. 66, *Opera*, ed. Otto, Jena 1842, vol. i. p. 268; *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, cap. 48, 70, *ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 154, 240.

[2] Justin, *Apologia*, ii. 6, *ibid.* vol. i. p. 296. Compare also John iv. 24 with *Apologia*, i. 6, vol. i. p. 150; John ix. with *Apologia*, i. 22, vol. i. p. 184; and *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, cap. 69, vol. ii. p. 237. The Apology cites Zech. xii. 10-12 just as John does; see *Apologia*, i. 52, vol. i. p. 240.

[3] Justin, *Apologia*, i. 61, *ibid.* vol. i. p. 258: *ἀναγιννᾶν.* instead of *ἄνωθεν γεννηθ.*, and *βασ. τῶν οὐρανῶν* instead of *β. τοῦ θεοῦ.* [Tischendorf's 8th ed. and the Sinaitic have *β. τῶν οὐρ.* On this passage compare a note by Professor Ezra Abbot in the American edition of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, New York 1868, p. 1433. Like variations are cited in several passages not before remarked by critics.—C. R. G.]

this case makes other references of a more general kind appear to rest on the fourth gospel.[1]

Letter to Diognetus.

Should the time of the composition of the letter to Diognetus be fixed as in the first half of the second century,[2] the said letter would also be properly cited here, both by reason of what it says concerning the Logos, and on account of various special passages.[3] The eleventh chapter would be of value, since it is full of Johannean reminiscences, but it is a later interpolation.

The Shepherd of Hermas.

The Shepherd of Hermas is commonly put at 140–150 A.D., Zahn says it belongs to the end of the first century. Although rather of a Jewish Christian tendency, it has points of contact with John's gospel.[4] Even Keim[5] says the Shepherd is 'evidently acquainted with the first epistle, while at the same time its whole terminology often reminds us of the gospel.'[6]

Polycarp.

The letter of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, to the Philippians is the only one of his letters[7] remaining to our day. The

[1] Compare Justin, *Apologia*, i. 66, *ut supra*, vol. i. p. 268, as to the Lord's supper, with John vi.; or *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, cap. 17, *ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 60–62, as to Jesus the light; and *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, cap. 40, 111, *ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 130, 370, as to Jesus the true paschal lamb.

[2] Ritschl and Wittichen say 150, Credner says 140, Ewald says 120–130; and Nitzsch in his *Dogmengeschichte*, part i., Berlin 1870, p. 109, says 110–125.

[3] *Epistula ad Diognetum*, cap. x., *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, ed. Gebhardt, Harnack, Zahn, Leipzig 1875, p. 224 f., compare John iii. 16; or *Epist.* cap. vi., *ibid.* p. 221, compare John xv. 19.

[4] *Hermæ Pastor*, mandatum xii. 3, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, ed. Dressel, Leipzig 1863, p. 601, compare John xiv. 21, xv. 10 ff.; 1 John v. 3; similitudo ix. 12, *ut supra*, p. 626, compare John x. 7, xiv. 6; and similitudo v. 6, p. 610, compare John xvii. 8.

[5] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 143.

[6] See the detailed proofs in Zahn, *Der Hirte des Hermas*, 1868, pp. 467–476.

[7] Irenæus' letter to Florinus in Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V. xx. 8, *Opera*, ed. Dindorf, Leipzig 1871, vol. iv. p. 227.

seventh chapter of it[1] at least contains a citation from 1 John iv. 3. It is arbitrary to declare the letter spurious, as Schwegler and Hilgenfeld do. And even if it had been interpolated, this passage would not have been affected. If, however, the places which refer to Ignatius be genuine, the letter belongs to the beginning of the second century.

Papias.

According to Eusebius' testimony, which we have no reason to doubt, Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, testified to the first epistle of John in his lost expositions of the *Words of the Lord* (λόγια τοῦ κυρίου). That is also proof for the gospel. Eusebius does not mention the use of the gospel, simply because it did not seem to him necessary to do so. In referring to Polycarp's letter, he only cites the quotations from 1 John and 1 Peter, and is silent as to the many quotations from the Pauline epistles. Hence there is not the slightest justification in concluding, from Eusebius' silence in the case of Papias, that Papias said nothing about John's gospel, or indeed 'perhaps found great fault with it.'[2]

Polycarp and Papias are among the elders to whom Irenæus appeals for his information as to John. Among other things, he mentions a peculiar explanation of John xiv. 2, with appeal to the elders.[3] That shows us that this circle, to which Papias also belonged, busied itself with John's gospel. The remark that Jesus lived to be fifty years old, founded on John viii. 56 f., is also a testimony to their knowledge of this gospel. The preface to a manuscript of the gospels from the ninth century,—Vatic. Alex. N. 14,—which preface Tischendorf thinks earlier than Jerome, tells that Papias, in his exegetical work, reports the composition of the gospel by John. But the closing words: 'descripsit vero evangelium (Papias) dictante Joanne recte' ('he [Papias] wrote down the gospel, John dictating directly'), are probably to be understood, not as a citation from Papias, but as a note of the

[1] Polycarp, *Epistula ad Philippenses*, cap. vii., *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, ed. Gebhardt, Harnack, Zahn, Leipzig 1876, fasciculus ii. pp. 120-123.

[2] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 145.

[3] Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, V. xxxvi. 2, ed. Massuet, Paris 1710, p. 337 a.

author's own. Besides, the quotation is itself too insecure for us to base conclusions on it.

Ignatius.

According to the prevailing and most probable view of the Ignatian letters, the seven of the shorter Greek recension are genuine. Then they are from the first decade of the second century.[1] Even Lipsius, Hilgenfeld, and Volkmar have acknowledged in these, traces of acquaintance with the fourth gospel.[2]

The Letter of Barnabas.

It is uncertain whether or not the letter of Barnabas, probably dated about 96 A.D., shows points of contact with the fourth gospel. Keim[3] finds such a frequent coincidence of the world of ideas in the letter, both as to great and as to small things, with that of John's gospel, that he declares it necessary to suppose them to be connected. Holtzmann[4] has pursued still more accurately the question as to their points of contact. Yet it is doubtful whether there be a real use of the gospel. Riggenbach[5] denies it, Wittichen[6] affirms it.

Close of Twenty-first Chapter.

The closing words of chap. xxi., added by another hand,

[1] See Uhlhorn, 'Ignatius, in Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie*, 1856, vol. vi. pp. 623–630.

[2] See Ignatius, *Epistula ad Philadelphenos*, cap. vii., *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, ed. Gebhardt, Harnack, Zahn, Leipzig 1876, fasciculus ii. pp. 76, 77, compare John iii. 8; *Ad Romanos*, cap. vii., *ibid.* pp. 66, 67, compare John vi. 33, 51 ff.; the naming the devil, in a way that recalls John's gospel, *ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου* ('the ruler of this age'), *Ad Romanos*, cap. vii. pp. 64, 65, *Ad Ephesios*, cap. xvii., xix., pp. 22–25, *Ad Magnesios*, cap. i. 3, pp. 30, 31, *Ad Trallianos*, cap. iv. 2, pp. 46, 47; and the John-like sounding confession of the divinity of Jesus, *Ad Romanos*, cap. vi. pp. 64, 65.

[3] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 141 ff.

[4] Holtzmann, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1871, p. 336 ff.

[5] Riggenbach, *Die Zeugnisse für das Evangelium Johannis*, Basel 1866, pp. 89, 90; also *Der sogenannte Brief des Barnabas. Programme*, Basel 1873, p. 37.

[6] Wittichen, *Der geschichtliche Charakter des Evangeliums Johannis*, Elberfeld 1868, p. 104.

designate the apostle John as the author of the gospel. Since they are in all the manuscripts, the gospel appears not to have been published in wider circles without them. Besides, they have no meaning, and are useless if they are not old, added soon after the death of John, or while he was yet alive. The latter point is rendered probable by the present μαρτυρῶν ('testifieth') in distinction from the past γράψας ('wrote'). We should then have to recognise in these words a testimony from the company of the Ephesian presbyters as the gospel passed from the confined to the wider circles of the church.

The Heading.

The heading κατὰ Ἰωάννην ('according to John') may have been prefixed to the gospel either at the same time as the verses above, or not until the gospels were collected and put together. Which, is indifferent, since the heading in any case rests upon the tradition which accompanied the gospel from the first.

To this testimony of the church, reaching the borders of the first century, the testimony outside of the church must now be added.

4. Testimony outside of the Church.

Celsus.

The earliest polemic treatise of heathen thought against the 'new third religion' is the Λόγος ἀληθής ('the true word'). It was written by the philosopher Celsus, of the Platonizing school, about 178 A.D., or, perhaps, even before 170 A.D.[1] According to Keim, it shows a knowledge of John's gospel as an authentic record of Christianity. Hence the acceptance of this gospel was then so unquestionable and so general, that even a heathen made it a presupposition for his polemics.

[1] Keim has as far as possible restored it: *Aelteste Zeitschrift antiker Weltanschauung gegen das Christenthum vom Jahre* 178 *nach Christo wiederhergestellt, aus dem Griechischen übersetzt, untersucht, und erläutert mit Lucian und Minucius Felix verglichen*, Zürich 1873.

Heretical Jewish Christianity.

The literature of the heretical Jewish Christianity, which must have stood very distant from the whole method of thought of John's gospel, testifies to it. Ewald says that the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* was written in Hadrian's time. It contains such thoroughly Johannean phrases as the following: *φῶσ τοῦ κόσμου, μονογενήσ, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆσ ἀληθείασ μαρτυρεῖ, πηγὴ εἰσ ζωὴν πάσησ σαρκόσ, θεὸσ ἐν σαρκί* ('light of the world, only-begotten, the spirit of truth witnesses, a fountain unto the life of all flesh, God in flesh'). The *Clementina* probably arose in Rome soon after the middle of the second century, while the book on which they are founded is earlier, and points back to Syria. Lagarde cites fifteen Johannean passages from them; and the large quotation from John ix., in the conclusion found by Dressel, is quite beyond question.

Gnostic Sects.

John's gospel presents itself to us in many ways in the literature of the Gnostic sects of the second century, especially of the Valentinian school. Hofstede de Groot, in his *Basilides* of 1868, thinks he can prove that the citations of Basilides come from Basilides himself, and Bleek[1] and Keim[2] accept that view. The words are:[3] *καὶ τοῦτο, φησὶν ἔστι τὸ λεγόμενον ἐν τοῖσ εὐαγγελίοισ· ἦν τὸ φῶσ τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον* κτλ. ('and this,' he says, 'is that which is spoken in the gospels. He was the true light which lighteth every man,' etc.), compare John i. 9; and[4] *οὔπω ἥκει ἡ ὥρα μου* ('my hour is not yet come'), compare John ii. 4. But, owing to the inexact use of the singular *φησίν* ('he says') in the quotations of the *Philosophoumena*, it is not entirely certain whether these words are from Basilides or from his school. In like manner it cannot be proved that John's gospel belonged to the *εὐαγ-*

[1] Bleek, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Berlin 1860, p. 227, note.

[2] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 144.

[3] Hippolytus, *Refutatio Omnium Hæresium*, vii. 22, ed. Duncker and Schneidewin, Göttingen 1859, p. 360.

[4] *Ibid.* vii. 27, p. 376.

γέλιον ('gospel') on which Basilides wrote twenty-four books, his ἐξηγητικά ('exegetical books').

Valentinus' system, probably from 130 A.D., shows so close a connection between the system of Eons and the language of John's gospel, that we must assume an influence exerted by it on the very founder of the system. This is confirmed by the fact that we see John's gospel in unquestionable acceptance and frequent use among the scholars of Valentinus. Ptolemäus, by unanimous testimony the eldest pupil of Valentinus, quotes from it, naming its author. Heracleon, probably also a direct scholar of Valentinus, wrote a commentary on John's gospel. The fragments preserved by Origen show to what forced and venturesome interpretations he had to take recourse, so as to bring the Valentinian system into an apparent connection with the gospel. He would hardly have been at the pains to do this if the authority of the book had not been generally recognised. Tertullian was doubtless right in observing that 'Valentinus, as is agreed, used the whole instrument (that is, the Holy Scriptures) . . . ; not adapting the Scriptures to the material, but the material to the Scriptures.'[1]

Marcion came to Rome about 140. Before this he was active in Asia Minor. Hence he was probably older than Valentinus, and perhaps than Basilides. The first of critics, after the manner of the Tübingen critics, he kept appealing to the second chapter of Galatians, to prove from it a difference between the preaching of Paul and of the original apostles. He therefore made it his task to reform Christianity, which had been Judaized by the latter, and to bring it back to its pure form. In accordance with this, he proceeded to put the canon and the single New Testament books in order. In this it was quite natural that he should limit himself to Luke's gospel, corrected by himself, and that he should reject the two apostolic gospels for the very reason that they came from original apostles. We perceive from Tertullian's[2] remarks that Marcion knew the fourth gospel as John's, and rejected

[1] Tertullian, *De Præscriptione Hæreticorum*, cap. xxxviii., *Opera*, ed. mai. Oehler, Leipzig 1854, vol. ii. p. 36.

[2] See, for example, Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, iv. 3, *Opera*, ed. min. Oehler, Leipzig 1854, p. 680, proceeding from Galatians ii.: 'connititur ad destruendum statum eorum evangeliorum, quæ propria et sub apostolorum

it on that account. As he was from Asia Minor, and as he, being the son of a bishop, must have known the tradition of that region, his historical testimony has the more weight.

Thus the Gnostic circles, as early as 130, were acquainted with John's gospel as an apostolic book. It must then have been recognised more thoroughly and still earlier in church circles. This compels us to go back with its origin to the beginning of the second or the end of the first century, namely, to the times of the freshest recollections of John. But at that date they would not, in Johannean circles, have accepted a book as John's if it had not come from the apostle, and much less if it were fully foreign to his way of thinking. If the fourth gospel passed for John's in those circles at that time, it must have been John's; or else the whole tradition about John in Asia Minor is an error. Keim assumes this latter position.

5. Residence of the Apostle John at Ephesus.

Lützelberger, in 1840, denied the truth of, and sought to refute, the tradition of the early church as to the residence of the apostle John in Asia Minor. He was met on all sides, and especially from Tübingen criticism, by the most decided opposition. Since that date, Keim[1] is the first one who has found courage to renew this denial. The tradition, he tells us, rests upon an error of Irenæus. In his youthful recollections, the apostle John, who never came to Asia Minor, slipped involuntarily into the place of the presbyter John, who lived at Ephesus. This error, it is true, was also committed by others independently of Irenæus. Wittichen, Holtzmann, and Scholten agreed with Keim. Ewald, Steitz, Hilgenfeld, and Krenkel opposed him. Keim's chief proof is the argument from silence. The apostle John in Ephesus is not mentioned by various books of the second century, in which we must have expected such mention. It is, however, well known that no argument is so insecure as this.

nomine eduntur'—'he strives to destroy the authority of those gospels which are especially entitled to the name, and which are published under the name of the apostles.'

[1] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 161 ff.

Scholten thinks the Revelation a proof against the apostle in Ephesus. But the John to whom it ascribes itself is either the apostle or not. Were he the apostle, then he lived in Asia Minor, where the Revelation arose. Were he not, then he was so considered at least very early, as by Justin, about 150 A.D. And hence there was, long before Irenæus, a tradition as to the apostle's residence in Ephesus.

At the first instant it may seem striking that the Ignatian letters, even the ones to Polycarp and to the Ephesians, are silent concerning John. But in the Polycarp letter Ignatius had no call to speak of John. And in the letter to the Ephesians, the likeness of his death-journey to that of Paul floats before his mind, and he speaks of it. When, in chap. xi., he speaks of the apostles with whom the Ephesians have had intercourse, the apostle John is doubtless to be considered as included among them.

Polycarp does not mention John in his letter to the Philippians, because he is writing to a Pauline church.

Papias, according to the more probable understanding of the passage in the introduction to his expositions of the words of the Lord,[1] distinguishes the apostle John and a presbyter John among his vouchers. The passage does not show whether he had spoken to John himself or not. Eusebius denies it from this passage, but unjustly. Irenæus affirms it, and doubtless had further traditions of Asia Minor as a basis for his statement.

The anti-Montanist Apollonius' account of John's raising a dead man at Ephesus is a testimony for the tradition of the Ephesian residence. Irenæus' declarations as to that tradition are, however, decisive, especially those in his letter to the Roman bishop Victor, and in his letter to Florinus, the friend of his youth. In the former[2] he recalls Polycarp's discussions with Anicetus in Rome as to the passover celebration, and Poly-

[1] Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III. xxxix. 3, 4, *Opera*, ed. Dindorf, Leipzig 1871, vol. iv. p. 133; Læmmer's ed. III. xl. p. 236; Heinichen's ed. III. xxxix. 3, 4, pp. 147, 148. See further on this, Luthardt, *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel*. Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1875, pp. 126–139.

[2] Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, ed. Massuet, Paris 1710, pp. 340, 341; Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V. xxiv. 14–17, *Opera*, ed. Dindorf, Leipzig 1871, vol. iv. p. 233.

carp's appeal to John's custom in Ephesus. This appeal would instantly have been opposed, if that fact, and therefore the residence of John in Ephesus, were not settled. Irenæus [1] called upon the apostate friend of his youth, Florinus, to revive his youthful recollections of their common intercourse with Polycarp, and of his accounts of the apostle John. He could not venture to do this if he were not secure against a rejection of it by Florinus as a mistake. The shortest way is Scholten's, to declare the letter to Florinus spurious. But that is impossible.

These recollections of Irenæus' are confirmed by Clement of Alexandria, who clearly had his peculiar sources of information; by the Ephesian bishop Polycrates, who could appeal to the rich tradition of his family, seven of his relations having been bishops; and by all the rest of the church.

But that note, as to John's participating in the passover celebration of Asia Minor, forms one of the objections to John's authorship of the gospel.

6. The Passover Celebration in Asia Minor.

The church of Asia Minor, in the second century, celebrated the passover on the 14th Nisan, appealing to the apostolic custom, and especially to that of John; whereas John's gospel, at least according to the most widely accepted exposition, transfers the last supper of Jesus to the 13th, and his death to the 14th Nisan, both a day earlier than the synoptists. Since, therefore, the chronology of the fourth gospel stands in contradiction with the custom of John, it cannot be John's. This argument was offered by Bretschneider, and has been constantly repeated, especially by the Tübingen school.

The first question is the sense in which the church of Asia Minor celebrated the 14th Nisan. It did not, as the Tübingen school thinks, celebrate the memory of the institution of the Lord's supper. As little had they in view, as Weitzel and Steitz think, the celebration on that day of the memory of Jesus' death. In close adhesion to the Jewish festal chronology, they celebrated the 14th Nisan, on whatever day of the

[1] Irenæus, *ut supra*, pp. 339, 340; Eusebius, *ut supra*, V. xx. 4-7, pp. 226, 227.

week it fell, in memory of redemption in general, and that, as it appears, especially by the feast of the Lord's supper. As to the meaning of the celebration, and as to the dogmatical view upon which it was based, the church of Asia Minor and the so-called Quartodecimani ('Fourteeners'), opposed by Hippolytus, Apollinarius, and Clement of Alexandria, agreed with the western church. The difference only concerned the day, in reference to which the church of Asia Minor still leaned upon the Jewish festal chronology.

As, therefore, this celebration did not refer especially to the institution of the Lord's supper, or especially to Jesus' death, but in general to the redemption completed by him, it does not affect at all the apostolical question touching the passion chronology of the fourth gospel. It offers no argument either for or against John's authorship of this gospel.

The external testimony, which we have thus far considered, testifies to John's authorship of the gospel. The question arises, whether this tradition be made impossible, or at least improbable, by the book itself.

7. The Testimony of the Gospel itself.

(1.) The fourth gospel presents itself as the work of a Palestinian, not a Hellenistic, Christian from Israel.

The very language shows the author to have been such. As Godet says: The dress of the language is Greek, its body Hebrew. It has a Hebrew soul. Not merely the various Hebraisms, but the whole material of the language, and the entire manner of the language,—the want of periods, and the predominance of the paratactical method of speech,—show that the author was accustomed to think in Hebrew, and not in Greek.

The author knows the Old Testament, and frequently draws his ideas and figures from it. He is familiar with it, not merely in the Greek translation, but also in the Hebrew original. This is most unquestionable in the citation from Zech. xii. 10 in John xix. 37.

The words in iv. 22 show that the evangelist's consciousness is Jewish. And the same thing appears from the posture of Jesus and of the evangelist towards the Old Testament; see especially x. 35. We perceive it in the whole mental

cast of the gospel: in the symbolizing of sensible things and the symbolism of numbers.

The author is exactly acquainted with Jewish customs, conceptions, and circumstances. The reproaches of ignorance and want of learning, often raised against him formerly, have given way to a more just appreciation.

(2.) The author reveals that he is also an eye-witness and ear-witness, and desires to be accepted as such. Even the chronological clearness which rules in the account shows that the course of the history stands clearly before the soul of the narrator. And the various determinations of time are not sought, but enter involuntarily, and offer themselves for use. Slight features and words also remind us no less of the memory of one who lived through it all; see, for example, that *ἐγείρεσθε, ἄγωμεν ἐντεῦθεν* ('Arise, let us go hence'), xiv. 31, or the mention of the mosaic pavement, xix. 13, or that affecting *ἦν δὲ νύξ* ('and it was night'), xiii. 30. Besides, the ease with which, as we observed above, the various scattered features unite in harmonious portraits of the respective personalities, indicates that the personalities stood before the narrator's eyes. He has a perfectly clear view of the different positions of the various circles in Israel towards Jesus,—of the leaders, the Jerusalemites, and of the Galileans; chap. vii. points this out. And Delitzsch is doubtless right in finding in that repetition of *ἀμήν* ('verily') in the mouth of Jesus, a token of ear-witness. It is peculiar to John's gospel, and was meant to preserve, in the sound of the Greek rendering, the original (אָמַר אֲנִי =) אֲמִינָא ('I say' = 'verily, verily').[1]

The author, then, deserves belief when he designates himself expressly as an eye-witness, i. 14, *ἡμεῖς* and *ἐθεασάμεθα* ('we' and 'we beheld'). This cannot be understood as meaning anything but an actual seeing and experiencing, unless artificial explanations be attempted. The strong assurances of sensible hearing, vision, and touching in 1 John i. 1–3 prove this, and are recalled to us by the shorter phrase in John i. 14. Hilgenfeld finds in the *ἐκεῖνος* ('he'), xix. 35, a distinction between the eye-witness and the narrator; but this is opposed by passages like ix. 37, and by the characteristic use of

[1] Delitzsch, 'Talmudische Studien IX,' *Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, 1866, 3, pp. 422–424.

ἐκεῖνος in the fourth gospel; it occurs about seventy times in the gospel.

This agrees with the fact that the evangelist, while he calls the other disciples by name where they occur in his account, yet constantly introduces namelessly one who stood near to Jesus, and who can be no other than John. Hence the Baptist is named John without nearer designation. And, moreover, as the apostle John is passed in silence, so are his brother James and his mother Salome. These things have been always considered as proof that the evangelist himself is this other disciple 'whom Jesus loved'—namely, John. Were the fourth gospel of such an epically objective character as the first gospel, this withholding of the writer's own name would be uncalled for. It is occasioned by the much more subjective character of this gospel. Therefore he chooses paraphrases in which he also embodies his feeling, the blessed memory of society with Jesus.

Thus the internal witness unites with the external to certify John's authorship.

Who could have written it? The 'great unknown one,' who has been suggested, would have been too great to remain concealed. He would have stood out a head taller than all the great men of the second century. There is no room in the second century for such a mind. The literature of that century has an utterly different stamp from the fourth gospel. The writings of the apostolic fathers stand in dependence upon the apostolic literature. Simply read the letter of Polycarp, who was such an honoured chief in the Christian church of Asia Minor, and see what a great falling off there is. And the following literature begins with Justin the age of theological reflection and of scientific digestion, which presupposes the age of the original production of Christian thoughts, and therefore of a book like John's gospel. Both the Gnosticism of the second century and the contest against it offer us an entirely different picture from the one the fourth gospel presents. The thing peculiar to the former, to Gnosticism,—namely, the 'blasphemia creatoris' ('blasphemy of the creator'), the distinguishing the creator from the highest God, —and the thing peculiar to the latter, to the contest—namely, the entering upon the various debated points, both

these are lacking in the fourth gospel. It points to an earlier stage, a stage of first productivity and of original grandeur.

8. St. John's Gospel and the Synoptists.

According to the critical party, the alleged lack of harmony between John's account and the synoptic one is of decisive importance.

(1.) *The Narration.*

Unquestionably the author of the fourth gospel presupposes a knowledge of gospel history as reported by the synoptists, and the synoptists themselves. This may be perceived by various references to facts reported in them; see, for example, ii. 12, iii. 24, xi. 2, xviii. 24, 28. He recognises in these the synoptists' account, and places himself on their ground. Thus he presupposes and confirms Jesus' Galilean activity, vi. 1, vii. 1. His confirming them is not dependence upon them, for he has independent statements, which he places at the side of that tradition, and in which he, even in part, does not shrink from offering the appearance of deviation from or contradiction with them.

It is true that the fourth gospel depicts, predominatingly, events in Jerusalem, not in Galilee, like the synoptists. But that is due to the fact that he desires to present the history of the conflict between Jesus and his opponents. The seat of hostility to Jesus was in Jerusalem. And the festal visits were, particularly, the times of hostile meeting, upon which the progress of the drama developed itself. Just as John is aware of the activity of Jesus in Galilee, so are the synoptists aware of a repeated residence of Jesus in Jerusalem, Matt. xxiii. 37; Luke xiii. 34. This lay in the nature of the case, and must have been certain to us even if it had not been handed down by tradition. Again, when John tells of a time of work by Jesus in Judea before his appearance in Galilee, of which the synoptists say nothing, that is no proof that the said work was impossible. For the synoptists do not report how much or how little time intervened between Jesus' baptism and the arrest of the Baptist, which latter point is the date of Jesus' first appearance as the prophet of Galilee.

It is a matter of course that one did not immediately follow the other. According to the synoptists, Jesus' activity seems to have lasted but a year. But Wittichen is right in emphasizing the fact that this time is decidedly too short to afford the necessary room for the whole compass of the events, and of the influence upon the disciples.

The gaze of the fourth evangelist is undoubtedly from the first directed to the issue of the history, in a much higher degree than is the case with the first three. The weight for him lies not in the narration of the external events, but in the bringing to view their internal meaning as the real substance of the history. His silence as to the institution of baptism and of the Lord's supper is characteristic. It could not enter his mind to wish to deny or to bring in question these institutions of Jesus. But in the words to Nicodemus, iii., and in the synagogue at Capernaum, vi., he relates the presuppositions of those two institutions, and thus their substance. He may then save himself the account of the external events of their institution. The verse xii. 27 f. bears a similar relation to the agony of prayer in Gethsemane, reported by the synoptists. This anticipatory character is peculiar to John's book. It was because they failed to appreciate this, that Baur and his school, and Keim,[1] reproached the fourth gospel with the fact that it knew no historical progress,—that all was complete at the very beginning, and that the end was but with difficulty kept at a distance. But as the author of the first epistle of John perceives the murderous deed as to substance in the very disposition of hatred, so the evangelist sees the end present as to substance in the very beginning. Yet the beginning does not therefore cease to be a beginning, though it is a beginning of the end. Indeed, the fourth gospel shows more plainly than any other the progressive rise of the conflict in the great drama of the life of Jesus.

They say, in the same party, that because the evangelist had long ago used up all his motives, he had to have a new event to make the closing catastrophe possible. Hence he invented the raising of Lazarus, which the synoptists are ignorant of. As the death of Jesus in John hangs upon this

[1] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. pp. 117, 131.

event, it 'hangs entirely in the air'[1] But the death decree of the Sanhedrim is not specially based upon this miracle. It rests on the 'many miracles' which Jesus did, xi. 47. That deed was only the occasion, not the reason. The enthusiasm of the people had not been called forth simply by that resurrection. Even without it, Jesus was a miracle-worker in the eyes of the people. Hence the synoptists did not need it to make the issue of Jesus' life comprehensible.

They complain especially, however, of lack of development in the description of Jesus. Christ is 'complete from the first.'[2] It is a Christ who 'is not born, is not baptized, does not struggle, does not suffer.'[3] But does a writer necessarily deny all that he does not expressly relate? If Mary is Jesus' mother, the incarnation, i. 14, is doubtless to be understood of being born. And when the Baptist puts his baptism into connection with the knowledge of Jesus which had been revealed to him, i. 32 f., he probably baptized him. Does not the cry in xii. 27 indicate a struggle of the soul? and when Jesus speaks of the cup which his Father has given him to drink, xviii. 11, did he not suffer? His consciousness as Son and as Messiah, in the synoptists, did not first form and develop after the baptism, but before. Not the development of, but the testimony to, his Messianic consciousness and to his knowledge of the issue of his passion, had a history after the baptism. As for the disciples' belief in the Messiahship of Jesus, upon the one hand this was also present from the first, as to substance, in the synoptists, since they otherwise would not have followed Jesus; and, on the other hand, it has a progress in the fourth gospel; see ii. 11, vi. 69, xx. 28.

It is said that the misunderstandings and the failures to understand, on the part of the disciples and of the Jews, are invented by the evangelist. They are, in fact, highly improbable, and only serve the evangelist as a frame on which he can spin out the ideal exposition of the Logos notion. But the point of the gospel is not such an ideal exposition of a notion. It aims at effecting belief, at effecting a personal relation to Jesus. The lack of understanding stood in the

[1] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 131.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 117. [3] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 125.

way of this. This lack arose from the contradiction between Jesus' self-witness, especially as concerning his death, and the expectations which the disciples and the Jews brought with them from the Old Testament, at least as they understood it. The case is in effect the same in the synoptists. Here, too, they are unable to comprehend many sayings of Jesus, especially as to his coming passion; see Matt. xvi. 9 ff., 23, xx. 22 ff.; Mark iv. 13, etc. If the fourth gospel speaks of the incapacity of belief on the part of the Jews, in the synoptists Jesus speaks of the impenetrability and hardness of the present generation, in the severe words of Isaiah; see Matt. xiii. 11 ff.; Isa. vi. 9 f.

And finally, the designed character of the form, the rule of the number three in the fourth gospel,[1] is as little a proof against its historical character as is the rule of the number seven in the first gospel. It is the manner of the Jewish mind, born of the Old Testament.

(2.) *Jesus' Discourses and the Christology.*

Criticism emphasizes the difference in the discourses of Jesus and in the Christology, even more than the difference in the historical narrative. In John, Jesus speaks quite differently from in the synoptists. In the latter, he is more naive, less designing, more natural: in the former, he is more reflective, more diplomatic. Hence the synoptists are more historical. Suppose this were all true, such a difference of contents would not argue the impossibility of apostolic origin. Could not an apostle have wished to present Jesus less historically, and more in the service of a certain speculative view?—But the difference is not irreconcilable.

The Form.

The difference of form is, it is true, unmistakable. In the synoptists, Jesus speaks mostly in short sayings or plain parables; in John, more in dialogues and long discourses, less popular in form. Yet the former have also their passages of

[1] Keim, *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 115 f.; opposed by Leuschner, *Das Evangelium St. Johannis*, Halle 1873, p. 10.

the more lofty Johannean tone, like Matt. xi. 25 ff., and their debates, as Matt. xii. 25 ff. And John has short, striking, or paradoxical sayings, after the manner of the synoptists; see iv. 35 ff., 44, v. 17, vi. 27, 62, 63. Only the ruling character in each is different. The parables of the synoptists find their like in John's parabolic words, as concerning the good shepherd, x., or the vine, xv. 1 ff. Here, however, they are not such complete parables as in the synoptists; they are more like mere comparisons. In the synoptists, the speech of Jesus is more connected with sensible objects, more mediating and pedagogical; in John, it is more direct, foreign, and abrupt. Yet we find abrupt words of Jesus in the synoptists too, as at Matt. xii. 48 f., and they are more frequent towards the end; see Matt. xxi. 42, xxiii. 13 ff. And in John there is no lack of references to sensible objects, as in the conversation with the Samaritan woman, or of condescension to weak belief, as in xiii. ff. The entire tone in the latter we admit to be different from that in the former.

Again, say they, in the synoptists the discourses of Jesus are more manifold, richer in colour; in John, they are more uniform and more 'monotonous.' But John displays variety. Jesus speaks to the woman at Jacob's well in one way, to the Jews, viii., in another, and to His disciples in the farewell discourses in still another. Yet we agree that the discourses of Jesus, in John, are more uniform than in the synoptists. One and the same testimony to Him is presented, not with a speculative purpose, but with a view to the personal relation to Jesus, and yet it is offered in a certain uniform tone. It is the eternal background of the history and person of Jesus which is here to be brought to vision, and hence the narrative obtains a certain lofty monotony. The synoptists take their stand in the historical foreground, and permit the reader thence rather to suspect than to behold the eternal background, Matt. xi. 27 ff. John takes his position in the latter, and causes it to shine forth through the external history. If eternal life appeared in the flesh in Jesus, then his person and history must appropriate both sides. When, therefore, the fourth gospel emphasizes the eternal side, it is not less historical than the narrative of the synoptists; it is only in another sense historically true.

Jesus' Self-witness.

The same thing is true of Jesus' self-witness, or of the Christology. The theme of Jesus' self-witness in John is the great word, I am, viii. 24; compare viii. 12 and 58. He is the life, the light, the way, the truth, the Christ. In the synoptists, the discourses of Jesus appear to have less personal but more moral contents, or treat of the kingdom of God and the like. And yet even there the 'I' is the presupposition, and often enough the substance of his discourses. In the sermon on the mount he emphasizes his 'I,' his authority. In the speech at sending forth his disciples, Matt. x., all turns upon him. He delivers the commission to his disciples, and the behaviour towards them is a behaviour towards him. He thus pervades the whole gospel of Matthew. He is the hope of the believers of the Old Testament, and the aim of their desire, Matt. xiii. 16 f. He is the aim of every human soul, xi. 28. He is the aim of humanity, the Son of man. The decisive question is, who he is, xvi. 13 ff. He is a divine secret, xi. 27. In brief, here, too, the 'I am' is the central point of the proclamation of him.

In the synoptists also absolute importance is ascribed to him. Only in them his importance is pressed more in its relation to the world; in John, more in its relation to God. Yet they, too, have for their background this absolute relation to God, Matt. xi. 27, which John makes the theme of his gospel. The synoptists have for their theme that part of Jesus' self-witness which stands in the foreground. These are two sides of the same thing, which mutually require each other. The synoptists present the externally perceptible appearance of Jesus the Son of God. John presents the eternal being of Jesus Christ as it has entered into history, as he has experienced it inwardly, and as he has in the course of his life ever more thoroughly recognised it. This is the so-called subjectivity of the fourth gospel.

(3.) *The Subjectivity of the Fourth Gospel.*

There is no question that the fourth gospel is more subjective than the first three. It does not follow from that

that it is not historical, as Keim declares.[1] The question is, whether the subjectivity is one brought into the history, or whether it is the essence of the history itself, which the evangelist has grasped and now presents in his own way. In the first evangelists also the history serves didactic aims, and is subordinated to definite points of view, as is likewise the manner of the Old Testament historical writing. This occasions a greater freedom towards the external material than suits our conceptions of historical faithfulness.

Are the ruling points of view drawn from the history itself or not? If eternal life really appeared in Jesus Christ in time, as the Christian belief holds, then a representation like that of the fourth gospel was justified, and in a higher sense historically true, even though it did not reproduce the discourses and sayings of Jesus in their actual wording. It was the most peculiar essence of the history and of the person of Jesus Himself, as it had revealed itself to the evangelist in his inward Christian experience and development, which he presented. The freedom which he used in respect to the outward material only served to bring forth this truth of history.

A glance at the Revelation, and at the Epistle to the Hebrews, shows us that such a view of Jesus Christ as we find in John's gospel was psychologically possible for a disciple of Jesus. The newer criticism accepts the Revelation commonly as a monument of the original Jewish Christianity, perhaps from the year 69 A.D. Yet it has not only the name Logos, xix. 13, but also the highest divine glorifying of Jesus, chap. v. compared with chap. iv. To the objection, that if the Revelation be from the apostle John, the gospel cannot be from him, since it is too different in form and contents, we may reply, that John's authorship of the Revelation is not more certain than that of the gospel. Hence that dilemma can be answered in different ways. The late researches of Gebhardt[2] at least make it doubtful whether the dilemma be really unavoidable. The epistle to the Hebrews, which has its home in Jewish Christian circles in the middle of the years 60–70 A.D., puts Christ in such a wise in a rela-

[1] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 122.
[2] Gebhardt, *Der Lehrbegriff der Apokalypse*, Gotha 1873.

tion of essence to God, see i. 2 ff., that it is not surpassed even by John's gospel.

We see therefore from this—neglecting Paul's writings—that thirty years after Jesus' death the view of Jesus' divine essence had been developed in the early Christian circles. It could therefore be present for the evangelist John as well as for the writer of the Revelation, or of the epistle to the Hebrews.

Thus nothing stands in the way to forbid the church tradition as to the author of the fourth gospel. Everything unites to confirm it.

[The origin of St. John's gospel has in England been treated in an active debate, opened by the book, *Supernatural Religion*, London 1874; see especially 6th ed., 1875, with much new preface. Professors Lightfoot and Arnold replied in the *Contemporary Review:* Arnold's essays collected in his *God and the Bible*. See also *Dublin Review*, May 1875. The *Fortnightly Review* for January 1, 1875, contains a reply by the author of *Supernatural Religion* to Lightfoot's first article of December 1874. We understand that Professor Lightfoot is still dealing with this subject.—C. R. G.]

EXPOSITION.

I.

JESUS THE SON OF GOD.

CHAPTERS I.–IV.

I.

JESUS THE SON OF GOD.

CHAPTERS I.–IV.

I. 1–18. INTRODUCTION. *The foundation-laying testimony to Jesus Christ as the absolute revelation of God.*

IT is the custom to call this introduction the prologue to John's gospel. This must not be understood in the sense of a preface which precedes the book proper. The historical narration, at i. 19, joins directly on to what precedes, and the first eighteen verses belong inseparably to the following verses and to the whole. They form the beginning of the gospel itself. But they have a more general character than what follows. This is unmistakable. Hence they are foundation-laying. Yet not in the sense that a speculation is premised as a foundation for the succeeding historical narrative. The form of the discourse is that of the historical report in historical tense, and the same is true of the contents. Ideas are not developed, ideas of a philosophical kind and in a philosophical interest. But the evangelist gives historical testimony. It is an apostle preaching the gospel, not a philosopher lecturing on certain speculative propositions.

The contents of the gospel are Jesus Christ, the historical person of Jesus Christ. To him the evangelist testifies in this introduction. Indeed, he begins at once, with the very first words of his book. And thence he passes to the special historical testimony with which the Baptist introduced Jesus, and to the special self-witness with which Jesus introduced himself. Thus the introduction is historical gospel testimony to Jesus Christ, but a testimony of a foundation-laying, and therefore of a more comprehensive and more general kind. We must understand the introduction from this standpoint.

Thence also proceeds its course. Its aim is the special historical testimony of the Baptist to Jesus. Therefore the introduction will advance from general to special, from the more general characterization of Jesus as to his importance, to the more special statement of his appearance and of his vocation. Such is the course of this first section.

In agreement with the general literary law of the fourth gospel, the introduction moves forward in three paragraphs. Beginning with the three famous sentences, as with a mighty triple stroke, the united progress of the thoughts in this introduction moves in three sentences: vv. 1–5, 6–13, 14–18. We have already perceived that we are to seek and to behold, in the domination of the number three, not an especial, speculative, or religious mystery. It is the psychological law of this mind, and of its way of thinking and writing; it is connected with the circular motion of its thoughts. The discourse proceeds in circular lines, in a spiral. From the beginning, with the momentum of progress it seems to swing back to the beginning. But the apparent return is a progress to a higher point of view, with a widened horizon, from which the movement begins once more. Hence the first and the third stages correspond to each other. And so do the beginnings of the first and third paragraphs. Ver. 14 returns to ver. 1, in contrast, and yet with repetition.

I. 1–5.

The Eternal One, equal to God, who is the revelation of God, the mediator of all existence, was the life and the light of the world; but the world did not receive him.

Verse 1.

The evangelist intends to proclaim Jesus Christ in order to saving belief in Him. The beginning of his gospel agrees with this statement of its aim, found at its close, xx. 31. Grace and truth have been imparted to us through Jesus Christ, the Father has been revealed to us through the only-begotten Son; thus the introduction ends, i. 17, 18. This purpose shows how we are to understand the beginning of

this introduction. When the evangelist, in the first verse, speaks of the Logos, he does not speak of an unknown being, named Logos, about whom he offers speculative information. It is Jesus Christ whom he means from the first, and whom he only designates by that word. He does not, as Baur[1] supposes, go in a mighty leap from the Logos to Christ, but Christ is at the outset the subject of his account, even where he speaks of the Logos. In what sense does John here name Christ the Logos?

He makes three statements concerning him: *ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν, πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἦν, θεὸς ἦν* ('He was in the beginning, was with God, was God'). It is clear that the emphasis rests on these three predicates,—that is, the contrast lies in them. In contrast with his appearance in the world, in the society of men, and in human nature, here we find declared of him, eternity, association with God, and divinity. He who appeared in time was eternal; he who appeared among us was with God; he who appeared in the flesh was God by nature. Such are the contrasts in the mind of the fourth evangelist in the first verse, and it is to them he reverts at the beginning of the third paragraph, ver. 14.

The subject in both series of statements is the same. Another subject, Jesus Christ, does not of a sudden step into the place of the subject Logos. If the subject be the same, then it is the same Jesus Christ, whom he afterwards names by this historical title or by that of only-begotten Son of God, i. 18, whom he here understands in the designation Logos, and whom his readers should understand to be meant thereby. He does not proclaim to them a new personality; but preaches to them about their Saviour, whom they know. The peculiar thing he has to say of him lies in the predicates, not in the word Logos. He does not teach that Christ is the Logos, but that the Logos Jesus Christ was eternally with God, and was God by nature. That is what he lays stress on. Therefore 'Logos' must have been a designation of Christ, familiar to his readers. Did it come from somewhere else, or from John himself?

If Logos was to them as a matter of course a name of Christ, and they only knew of Christ by means of Christian

[1] Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 99.

preaching, they must have known and had this title also from that source. Hence the word was to them a Christian term. Although it may have occurred elsewhere, and have been a familiar term in non-Christian circles of thought, the question here is what this word was to the readers of the gospel. For them it was a designation of Christ. The fourth gospel contains manifold like designations. Jesus is called the life, the light, the way, and the truth. These are abstract names which declare his import. The first epistle of John begins with the designation of Christ as the life; the gospel, with that as Logos. Why is this? If we have seen rightly that the introduction intends to advance from the most general to the more special, then the evangelist has chosen the most general designation of Christ, the one which, formally, was the most comprehensive; materially, the least concrete. That is 'Logos.' If this word, as will appear, designates Jesus Christ as the revelation of God, this conception, on the one hand, is the most comprehensive mark of his import; and, on the other hand, because it is a merely formal conception, it says least what we have concretely in him. Hence this conception, in the further course of the account, gives place to other and more definite names of Christ.

Λόγος.

What does ὁ λόγος ('the word') mean?

For this we must look at the New Testament, and especially John's, use of language.

'Ο λόγος means both 'ratio' and 'oratio' ('reason' and 'speech'). In the New Testament, it occurs in the former sense only in turns like λόγον διδόναι, 'rationem reddere,' to give an account, as in Rom. xiv. 12; or in the sense of respect, λόγον ποιεῖσθαι, ἔχειν τινός ('to pay respect to'), if the common text is right in Acts xx. 24; or in the sense of relation or account, Heb. iv. 13, πρὸς ὃν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος ('with whom we have to do'); or 'ratio' in the sense of 'causa' ('reason' in the sense of 'cause'), τίνι λόγῳ, 'cur?' ('why'), Acts x. 29. None of these has anything to do with the case before us. In all these turns λόγος is not a word expressing a conception, but the expression for a relation between two. In our pas-

sage ὁ λόγος does express a conception, and that meant absolutely, not relatively. Ὁ λόγος does not occur in the New Testament in the sense of 'reason.' That meaning has only remained in the use of the adjective λογικός ('reasonable'), Rom. xii. 1 and 1 Pet. ii. 2, in so far as λογικός here denotes the contrast of the spiritual with the outward and material. It would therefore be arbitrary, in opposition to the New Testament use of language, to understand ὁ λόγος in this verse in the sense of reason, instead of in the constant New Testament sense of 'oratio' ('speech').

Ὁ λόγος, from λέγω, 'colligo,' is a 'collectio,' and therefore either a collection of sounds in a word, or a collection of words in a discourse. The discourse is then also called 'word' in a collective sense, as in the Old Testament the aggregate of the laws or commandments is called the law or commandment, and the words of God are called the word. Ὁ λόγος occurs in the New Testament agreeably to the common usage of the language in each kind of use, both as single word and as discourse or word in the collective sense. It is unnecessary to give proof passages for this, since the simplest reading, and every dictionary and concordance, give them.

The word either belongs to the general human, or to the special religious sphere. Of course we here have to deal only with the latter. The 'Logos' of which the evangelist speaks stands in some connection with the salvation which has appeared in Jesus Christ. In the religious sense, the word may be meant, both as it goes forth from God,—be it a single word, be it a greater whole, or be it a preaching in general,—and as it, when received by men, is again given forth or is appropriated by them. Thus the λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ('word of God') is repeatedly mentioned, either in the sense of a divine command, Mark vii. 13, and without τοῦ θεοῦ, Rom. xiii. 9, Gal. v. 14; or in the sense of a promise, Rom. ix. 6; or of a divine statement also without τοῦ θεοῦ, John xv. 25; or—and this is the common use—it is the word which originally went forth from God, but now is in course in the world, and is preached by men: the word of the New Testament proclamation of salvation. This is called ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, although it is a matter of human preaching; but 1 Thess. ii. 13 shows by the contrast with λόγος ἀνθρώπων ('word of men') that this is

intended in the sense of origin. As this is a necessity in the case of the New Testament word of salvation, the addition τοῦ θεοῦ may be left out, and usually is, so that it is called absolutely ὁ λόγος;[1] or it is more nearly defined, as to contents, as ὁ λόγος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, τῆς χάριτος, τῆς ἀληθείας ('the word of the gospel, of grace, of truth'). Such is the ordinary New Testament usage. Ὁ λόγος is the word of the proclamation of salvation as it now passes through the world, but which had its origin in God and proceeded from him into the world.

Let us now suppose, as the most natural thing, that ὁ λόγος in the introduction to John's gospel stands in connection with this common usage of the language of the New Testament. The question arises, whether the consideration of the divine origin or of the human proclamation here predominates,—that is, whether we are to understand it in the sense of a revelation or of a gospel, as Hofmann wishes us to think. If, however, as we have seen, the evangelist in this expression has Christ himself in view, he can hardly so designate him in the sense of the gospel. Christ, it is true, is the contents of the gospel, and therefore of the Logos or word which is the gospel, but he is not this word itself. He is ὁ περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ('that concerning which the word of the gospel' treats), but he is not ὁ λόγος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ('the word of the gospel') itself. As for the revelation, he is that itself, ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ('the word of God'). We cannot say that the word which the apostles brought to the world was with God and was God.[2] That can only be said of him whom their word proclaimed and brought to the world. That is true of the word which God spoke to the world in Jesus Christ,—namely, of Jesus Christ as the personal revelation of God.

We may now turn and compare the further use of this word in John. For this we have Rev. xix. 13 and 1 John i. 1 to consider. The writer of the Revelation beholds a rider go forth from heaven. Everything about him—the white colour of his horse, and the many diadems on his head—indicates victory. His name is ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ. The question is, whether the vision intends to present figuratively the word of

[1] Weiss, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, 2d ed. p. 619.

[2] Hofmann, *Der Schriftbeweis*, 2d ed., Nördlingen 1857, vol. i. p. 109 f.

God in the actual sense, as word, be it that of the Old Testament or that of the New Testament, or whether we are to understand 'the word of God' personally, and as naming Christ himself. Beyond doubt, the latter is the case. The calling the rider 'faithful and true' in ver. 11, reminds us of the 'Amen' in iii. 14. When it says that he will judge and make war, it looks back to the Messianic prophecy, Isa. xi. and Ps. lxxii. His eyes, like flames of fire, recall the face of Christ, i. 14. His vesture is dipped in blood, ver. 13, because he has trodden the wine-press of the wrath of God, ver. 15; Isa. lxiii. 1 ff. The sharp sword goes forth from his mouth, ver. 15, as from the face of Christ, i. 16, or in the third message, ii. 12. He rules the heathen with a rod of iron, as is said of Christ in ii. 27 and xii. 5, in recollection of Ps. ii. 9 and Isa. xi. 4.

Hence 'the word of God' can only be understood as a personal designation of Christ himself. Thus also it has been understood by the exegetes; by Bleek and Lünemann, as well as by Ebrard and Hengstenberg. Lünemann, moreover, calls attention correctly to the difference between the way in which this name of Christ is introduced, and the other introductions of designations of Christ in xix. 11, 16. The designations in both these other passages are shown clearly to be appellative, while the words *κέκληται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ* ('his name has been called the Word of God') treat 'the word of God' rather as a fixed proper name. The reader knows Christ by this name. It is therefore no new designation of him, but one familiar in their circles. This is confirmed also by the perfect passive *κέκληται*, not *καλεῖται* ('has been,' not 'is' called). The name 'the Word of God' is not given to him at this point, but belonged to him before. On his return to judgment, he bears this name, just as he bore it previously: the most fitting words to supply are, at his first coming into the world.

From this we may now determine in what sense he bears this name. Three names are distinguished. One is probably on his forehead (Ewald, Hengstb., Lünem.), on his richly diademed head.[1] None but Christ himself knows this name. It is not one of the two following which are known, but an

[1] Hofmann, *Der Schriftbeweis*, 2d ed., Nördlingen 1857, vol. i. p. 115.

unknown name,—that is, the expression of his incomprehensible, unfathomable being (Beng., Hengstb., Ebr., Lün., Hofm.). In his most peculiar essence he is a secret to all. What he is, shines forth from him, and we see it, but no one can seize it and express it in a word. He bears another name, ver. 16, on his robe, and particularly on his thigh, where the sword is worn: 'King of kings and Lord of lords.' He has proved himself such in battle. He has put on and exercised his royal majesty. This name therefore refers to the victorious exercise of his power in the history of his kingdom, and looks towards the end of the great struggle.

Between these two names stands that other name, ver. 13, 'the Word of God,' which Christians know, and by which they designate him. It follows that this name cannot be identical with the first, the unknown name. Therefore it is not the expression of its divine secret, and cannot denote his internal divine being and relation of essence to the Father: 'the word, in which the Father has expressed his essence in eternity evidently' (Ebr.). If it did denote this, what would be left for the first name? It is utterly arbitrary to think of Philo's λόγος ἐνδιάθετος ('the Logos as inwardly thought').[1] Nor can this name be identical with the third, so that it should designate Christ in so far as he executes the final judgment threatened by God, and thus should refer to the exercise of his power. Baur,[2] for example, speaks of the execution of the strict penal judgment 'with irresistible might.' Weiss[3] says nearly the same. On the contrary, this name must stand in the middle between the unspeakable and incomprehensible essence, and the final exercise of Christ's power which becomes known to the whole world. What else can this be than that Christ is the revelation of God? He is ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ('the word of God'), or the unity and sum of all λόγοι τοῦ θεοῦ ('words of God').

We are not to think merely, or rather not to think at all, of the preceding λόγοι ἀληθινοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ('true sayings of God'), ver. 9,[4] for a new vision begins with ver. 11. We

[1] Beyschlag, *Christologie des Neuen Testaments*, Berlin 1866, p. 133.
[2] Baur, *Vorlesungen über N. T. Theologie*, Hamburg 1864, p. 217.
[3] Weiss, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, 2d ed., p. 566, note.
[4] Hofmann, *Der Schriftbeweis*, 2d ed., Nördlingen 1857, vol. i. p. 115.

must turn to the words of God in general, which from time to time have been given to the world. It is true, as Baur says, that ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ does not designate him as an independent hypostasis, contrasted with God. But it does not follow from that that he is not a hypostasis. It is the personally-viewed Jesus Christ who is so named, in order to say what we have in him, to wit, the revelation of God. The addition τοῦ θεοῦ ('of God') makes no specific difference in the phrase; it remains the same as ὁ λόγος without τοῦ θεοῦ. He who is the revelation of God is for that reason the revelation absolutely and in general.

The result is, that, in the circles from which the Revelation proceeded, and for which it was intended, it was nothing uncommon to name Christ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ in the sense of the divine revelation, for which also ὁ λόγος could be used absolutely. According to the ruling view of later criticism, the Revelation belongs to about the year 69 A.D., and is a monument of the original Jewish Christianity. Hence this result holds good for that time and those circles. It is certain, however, that the home of the Revelation was in Asia Minor, and indeed at Ephesus. Therefore this designation of Christ, in the sense discovered, was not foreign to the Christians of that church.

The other passage which comes under consideration is 1 John i. 1. It offers such striking coincidences in various expressions with the beginning of John's gospel, that we involuntarily receive the impression of a conscious and designed recollection. We may therefore the more readily expect a similarity in what both say concerning the Logos. The apostle names the object of his preaching, beginning four times with ὅ ('that which'): ὃ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὃ ἀκηκόαμεν, ὃ ἑωράκαμεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν, ὃ ἐθεασάμεθα καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν ἐψηλάφησαν ('that which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled'). The apostle resumes this beginning, ver. 3, with ὃ ἑωράκαμεν καὶ ἀκηκόαμεν ('that which we have seen and heard'), so that we must add to the first sentences the finite verb from ver. 3, ἀπαγγέλλομεν καὶ ὑμῖν ('declare we unto you'). This beginning he follows up with a second: περὶ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς ('con-

cerning the word of life'). This does not belong to what precedes, since the foregoing has its object already, but must be connected likewise with *ἀπαγγέλλομεν* ('declare we').

His proclamation, therefore, has for its substance what he has heard, what he has seen with his own eyes, what he has beheld and his hands have touched; it treats of the word of life. It is evident that by these four relatives only Christ himself is meant and can be designated. Of him alone could the apostle say that he was from the beginning, and that he could be heard, seen, beheld, and tasted. It is impossible to speak so of a doctrine or of a word of preaching, or the like. We can only speak thus of a person. He designates Jesus, however, not personally, but as a neuter. He does not say *ὅσ* ('who'), but *ὅ* ('what'). That is because he does not intend simply to name Him, who he is, so that the relative sentence would be a mere rhetoric paraphrase for his name, but to characterize him actually, what he is to us. He does not wish, by the neuter, to denote that which is divine in Christ, as Brückner holds. That could not be touched with the hands. Nor does he take together, in this more general form of introduction, the premundane being and the historical appearance of Christ, as Düsterdieck thinks. He speaks of the person of Jesus Christ himself,[1] and designates it as the object of his preaching, in the relative sentences, in accordance with the sensible experience he had had of him.

Changing the form, he designates Him as the object of his preaching in the second beginning: *περὶ τοῦ λόγου τῆσ ζωῆσ*. Of this *ζωή* ('life') it is further said, ver. 2, that it has appeared on earth after having been with the Father. Hence Christ himself is also meant by this, as he is elsewhere named *ἡ ζωή, τὸ φῶσ* ('the life, the light'), and the like, that he may be characterized in his saving importance for us. In the second verse, *ἡ ζωή* ('the life') is an essential title of Christ. Does it follow from this, as Düsterdieck thinks, that *ὁ λόγοσ* in *ὁ λόγοσ τῆσ ζωῆσ* cannot designate Christ himself, but must mean, the word from him or of him who is the life? No, that is made impossible by *περί* ('concerning'). The apostle does not intend to designate the doctrine of Christ,

[1] Hofmann, *Der Schriftbeweis*, 2d ed., Nördlingen 1857, vol. i. p. 112.

or the doctrine from Christ, as the object of his preaching, but Christ himself.

Therefore ὁ λόγος τῆς ζωῆς is Christ himself, in so far as he bears life in himself, and thus is the revelation of life, and for us is life itself. Christ is not called λόγος here, in so far as he is the essential self-revelation of the Father, for he here comes under consideration not in his internal divine relation to the Father, but in his personal relation to us. Nor can the word of the apostolic preaching be intended,[1] since the apostle does not preach concerning—περί—that word. He of whom this word treats, not it in so far as it treats of him, is here called ὁ λόγος. He is so called not because the apostles preach him, but because God has spoken him, uttered him to the world, and has given with him life, which in his person was eternally with the Father, and in time has been revealed to us. Thus the same one who is called ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ('the word of God'), Rev. xix. 13, because he is the revelation of God, is here called ὁ λόγος τῆς ζωῆς ('the word of life'), because He is, as such, the revelation of life. Hence he can also be named absolutely ὁ λόγος, because he is absolutely the revelation of God, and therefore of life, light, grace, and truth.

If, then, we should thus understand ὁ λόγος in the beginning of the gospel, this sense and use of the word would not be peculiar to the gospel, but familiar as well to the Revelation and to the first epistle of John. And in this case the question as to whence John drew this expression is at once answered. The thought is such a simple one, and stands so entirely within the whole sphere of thought of the Bible, that it is quite unnecessary and unjustifiable to go and seek upon foreign ground for the home of the Johannean expression.

The Logos in Philo.

It is well known that the home of this word has been found by some in the Alexandrian religious philosophy of Philo, who lived from about 25 B.C. to the middle of the first century after Christ. But in this philosophy, the idea of the Logos extends its roots far back into the Greek philosophy,

[1] Hofmann, *Der Schriftbeweis*, 2d ed., Nördlingen 1857, vol. i. p. 114.

and that, as especially brought to recognition by Zeller,[1] rather into the Stoic than into the Platonic philosophy.

The Logos first occurs in Herakleitus, the Old-Ionic natural philosopher from Ephesus.[2] All things have and give forth a discourse. We have only to listen to this to come to a knowledge of the law which combines the world and the multitude of its parts into a firm and beautiful unity; see Ps. xix. and Rom. i. 19.

In the Socratic schools λόγος acquires the meaning of 'definition,' that which comprehends the essential points of the conception of a thing. Plato proceeds from this conception to the ideas as to the eternal, living, original images of the things. Aristotle transfers the idea to the things themselves; and thus to him the form, the conception (ἡ κατὰ τὸν λόγον οὐσία), is that which first lends to the matter its reality. In the Stoic sphere of thought, however, the Logos plays a part of standard importance. Its teleological materialism, or materialistic teleology, distinguishes that which is 'material and passive' (water and earth) from that which is 'active,' the independent, and, at the same time, materially thought conception in things, the Logos, which is thought to be πνεῦμα ('spirit') in the materialistic sense, as fine, fiery air. Since this πνεῦμα pervades all matter, there result many λόγοι, or active special ideas, working in the matter; and since things grow by degrees from seeds, these λόγοι are σπερματικοί ('seed-like'). The whole world, however, is itself a great

[1] Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, 2d ed. 1868, part iii. division 2, pp. 208–233, 293–367. Compare also Heinze, *Die Lehre vom Logos in der griechischen Philosophie*, 1872, pp. 204–297; and the review of Heinze in the *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, 1872, Nr. 57, which shows that the trace must be followed back as far as Herakleitus.

The literature concerning Philo and the Alexandrian religious philosophy is extremely large. See Schürer, *Lehrbuch der N. T. Zeitgeschichte*, Leipzig 1874, p. 648 f.; Müller in *Herzog's Real-Encyklopädie*, vol. xi., 1859, art. 'Philo'; and Lipsius in *Schenkel's Bibellexicon*, vol. i. pp. 85–99. [For a late discussion, see *La Doctrine du Logos chez Philon d'Alexandrie*, Torino 1876, by M. Henri Soulier, a former fellow-student of the writer at Leipzig.—C. R. G.]

[2] According to Sextus Empiricus, the opening words of his book περὶ φύσεως ('concerning nature') were: λόγου τοῦδε ἐόντος ἀεὶ ἀξύνετοι γίγνονται ἄνθρωποι καὶ πρόσθεν ἢ ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ἀκούσαντες τὸ πρῶτον. Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos*, vii. 132. [Grote in his *Plato*, 3d ed., London 1875, vol. i. p. 36, note *h*, quotes this passage. He omits ἀεί. He refers also to Aristotle, *Rhet.* iii. 5. The following notes, *k* and *m*, are also on this point.—C. R. G.]

organism, filled with and born of the πνεῦμα, the air, which is at the same time the divinity and soul of the world. Hence we find a more general λόγος, comprehending within itself the single λόγοι, the materially thought, active special ideas.

Thus unite in the λόγος of the Stoics, the points of that which is material and of that which is ideal. That highest λόγος becomes the law, the necessity (εἱμαρμένη), according to which all things come into being; and as they thus come into being logically, they are fitted for their ends. Therefore this λόγος is also, in a religious direction, providence (πρόνοια), the absolute wisdom, in which the various incomplete things dissolve in the general harmony of the universe. What is true of the whole is true also of the individual, especially of man. He bears in himself a λόγος analogous to the general λόγος of the world; a materially thought πνεῦμα, 'spiritus divinus,' that is, both air, the breath of fire, and also active conception or reason. His task, therefore, is to live according to the λόγος,—that is, at the same time, to live according to nature. This λόγος is primarily one dwelling in man, the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος, but becomes the λόγος προφορικός, in so far as it steps forth in the utterances of discourse.

The Stoa spread everywhere in the time of Alexander's followers. Plato and Aristotle were historical great ones of the past. The present was ruled by the Epicurean and Stoic manner of thought. The cosmopolitan character of the Stoa, the founder and most important teacher of which was himself no Greek, favoured this dissemination. This was especially the case in Asia, and even among the Jews. To the degree in which they spread abroad, the Stoics sought to place themselves in nearer relation to the national religions. From the time of Chrysippus they gathered all possible theological and mythical materials to confirm their doctrines, and they availed themselves in this of strange etymologies and of the method of allegorical exegesis. In this way the Stoa also made a pact with Judaism, and the Jews entered it in numbers, not merely in Alexandria, but also on the Syro-Asiatic coast.

The rest of the literature is lost, but Philo has left us many writings which awaken the thought that John's gospel and other books of the New Testament follow him in particular.

Even earlier than Philo, Aristobulus is named as the founder of the eclectic or syncretistic Alexandrian religious philosophy. It combined thoughts of the Greek philosophy, especially of the Stoa, with Old Testament or rabbinical views or expressions. Thus it sought to produce a philosophy nominally grown on Israelitic ground, which could take its place by the side of the Greek philosophy, and which should display both the superiority of that Jewish philosophy, and, at the same time, its essential agreement with such points of the Greek philosophy as were true. When that Jewish religious philosophy adopted for this purpose especially the Stoic views, these views were essentially modified by it. The Old Testament standpoint of the transcendence of God assumed the place of the pantheistic, and indeed materialistic, Stoic doctrine of immanence. As a consequence of this, that which is material is stripped off from the conception of the Logos, and it enters upon a middle position between God and the world. For since the abstract, attributeless, and absolutely simple God, pure being, cannot come into immediate contact with the material world, and yet is the active and forming principle of it, a mediation is necessary.

This is called, after the Old Testament, 'angel;' after Plato, 'idea;' but especially after the Stoic manner, 'Logos.' At an earlier period, in the 'Wisdom of Solomon,' the conception of wisdom served for this mediation. Conceived as πνεῦμα ('spirit'), and identified with the Old Testament Spirit of God, it was considered both as a cosmical, ethical, and intellectual principle, and as related to God by emanation. Philo used the conception 'Logos,' and that as one already existing, and the use of which he did not need to justify; he therefore found it in the Alexandrian philosophy. We cannot tell now how far back the conception may have been traceable in that philosophy.

The Logos, at first a cosmical principle, the former and preserver of the world, is, as the divine reason, the intelligible prototype for the sensible world. This prototype comprehends in itself many separate pictures, λόγοι, types of sensible things, as also of the spiritual world, of the arts, sciences, and virtues. Since the world consists of contrasts, the Logos is the dividing power, the τομεύς. And as the Logos in man

is both ἐνδιάθετος and προφορικός, so must the prototypal Logos be considered, although Philo did not use the former expression of the prototypal Logos, lest he should transfer to it too much of what was human. This Logos is the bond of all things, holding them together, mysteriously pervading them. The elements are its dress, as in the Stoic doctrine. For the Stoics, however, the Logos is one in essence with God, and is material; while for Philo it is separated from God and from matter, not merely in conception, but even essentially. Philo struggles with the task of placing the divinity in the world according to the Stoic manner, and yet at the same time not giving up its transcendence. The point of departure of his speculation is the Greek foundation. The source of the Logos is not the Old Testament σοφία ('wisdom'), or else he would have been content with that, but the Stoic philosophy mingled with Platonic elements. It is disputed whether his Logos is to be taken personally or not. Neither he nor any one else then knew the modern conception of personality in its strict sense. He presents his Logos, the middle cause between God and the world, as an intermediate being. He even names it directly God 'in a looser sense,' ἐν καταχρήσει, δεύτερος θεός ('second God'). Thus it is a kind of hypostasis wavering hither and thither between personal and non-personal existence.

It is beyond question that the following church theologians, especially with and after Justin, brought the Christian saving belief into union with this extra-biblical speculation, and thus received philosophical elements into their sphere of thought. They esteemed it their duty not only to preach saving belief, but also to justify the entire new Christian theory of life, this Christian 'philosophy,' in the eyes of heathen thought. Hence it was natural for them to reconcile their view with general philosophic thought, by adopting from the latter, points really or apparently true. But it was a different thing when, instead of reconciling Christian truth with the philosophic thought of the heathen world, the question was to proclaim Jesus, within the Christian church, as the absolute revelation of God. This latter is evidently the case in John's gospel.

It is arbitrary to find in the prologue of the gospel the characteristics of a religious philosophical speculation of the

Alexandrian description.[1] For the very first word aims at the proclamation of Jesus Christ in the history of salvation, and it intends to serve the united aim of the gospel, not a theoretical, but a practical aim,—namely, to effect and confirm saving belief. The sphere of thought in which we here move is utterly different from the one in which that philosophy of religion moves. Here we stand altogether on the ground of facts touching the history of salvation; in that philosophy they are trying to solve a philosophical problem by way of speculative thought. 'The Logos has in him [Philo] a metaphysical and physical, but no historical meaning.'[2] Hence these two spheres never coincide as to contents, but only in single words, and thus in the word λόγος.

That which is essential to John's Logos has no place and no meaning in Philo's,—namely, its connection with the history of salvation in the Old Testament, and its revelation in the incarnation.[3] Incarnation is an impossible thought for the Logos of Philo. It is the general Stoic soul of the world, the idea of the world, the divine reason which has found its dress in the elements, and its appearance in the concrete world. And, on the other hand, that which is essential to Philo's Logos is foreign to John's sphere of thought,—namely, that entire Stoic basis, the distinction of the ἐνδιάθετος and προφορικός, and the contrasting the abstract God with matter, which contrast demands the mediation of that intermediate being the Logos. They coincide, therefore, only in the term. Yet they do not agree in the word if its meaning be considered, for Philo's Logos is, at least primarily, 'ratio' ('reason'), and John's 'oratio' ('speech').[4] And thus there is, finally, only a very external contact left. Should we suppose that Philo and the heathen Jewish religious philosophy of that day were needed for this?[5]

That period shows us a large number of involuntary coincidences between the Christian truth and the heathen thoughts and views of the day. And yet we should have no right to

[1] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 111.

[2] Delitzsch, 'Johannes und Philo,' *Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, 1863, pp. 219–229.

[3] See Delitzsch, *ut supra*, p. 227.

[4] Hoelemann, *De evangelii Joannei introitu*, Leipzig 1855, p. 50.

[5] Against Delitzsch, *ut supra*.

put the Christian thought or even expression in a relation of dependence to the philosophical ideas which had taken form on heathen soil. The similarities are formal, and shaped themselves naturally, because 'the time was fulfilled.' Thus Christian universalism, the thought of humanity and of the kingdom of God, touches upon the universalism which proceeded from the Stoic philosophy, and began at that period to be a common property of the Roman way of thought. The latter meets us even in Cicero's *De Officiis.* It will occur to no one to trace that Christian universalism back to this Stoic and Roman universalism. They coincide involuntarily. The Stoic and Roman notion, however, was a mere abstraction, a formal conception, which only received a concrete living substance by means of Christianity. The thought in the Scriptures is original, but it meets the heathen 'conception,' and theology combines the two together.

The agreement between Seneca and Paul in the sphere of anthropological and ethical ideas has always been observed. It is well known what conclusions have been sought as an explanation of this phenomenon. Now it is generally acknowledged that the coincidences are rather apparent than real, and lie rather in the expression than in the thought. No one will believe that Paul was dependent upon the thoughts of Seneca; and scarcely any one, that Seneca depended on Paul. The coincidences are involuntarily conditioned on the course of historical development. They were determined by God's ordering to offer points of connection for Christian preaching, so that the empty rhetoric of a Seneca might be filled with the vigorous reality of Paul. Our case is like this.

There is a formal similarity between the philosophical ideal and the proclamation of the fact of the history of salvation. But it is occasioned by the historical situation. There is no causal connection between the two. Two currents, utterly diverse in their issue, here come in contact: heathen thought and biblical preaching. The former proceeds from the cosmos, which forms throughout the principle of the heathen mental life in all domains. It seeks in the universe conformity to law, the higher reason in things, comprehending this in the Logos, and thus attaining unto God. The latter proceeds—and this is a principle for the entire biblical way of thought—

from God, and from the fact of his revelation as it enters the world, and comprehends this in the 'Word.' Thus the two approach each other, though they start from altogether different sources and are controlled by an entirely different interest. Both unite in church theology.

We gladly own that that development stood under divine guidance. It was designed to serve the presentation of biblical truth. The forms of thought produced in this way were to serve the Christian doctrinal structure and justification, in the presentation of Christian truth, and in its reconciliation with philosophical thought. But we have no right to transfer that which is true of the later theology of the church to the original apostolic preaching. The latter furnished to theology the truths and thought, which it then combined with the conceptional forms of mundane thinking.

Whence did John draw the word 'Logos'?

If Philo's Logos and the heathen Jewish religious philosophy be neither necessary nor serviceable to explain John's Logos, the question arises, Whence did John draw this word, and what does he mean to say by it?

Ὁ λόγος is certainly not equivalent to ὁ λέγων, the speaker, as Storr thought, since ὁ λόγος must be understood grammatically not in an active, but in a passive sense. As little does it equal ὁ λεγόμενος, in the sense of ἐπαγγελλόμενος, the promised one, as Tittmann thought; if this was to have been said, the apostle would have written it so. In contrast with such a superficializing of the sense, a false depth is offered by some, as by the disciples of Hegel's school in their day. Thus Bruno Bauer[1] and Frommann[2] make 'the Word' the expression of a Trinitarian speculation, and find in it 'the eternal thought of God from himself,' or the 'alter ego,' 'other self,' of God. It is, they say, a postulate of the true idea of God, and when thought together with God in the diverse unity, first affords the idea of a concrete personal God. In this they go upon the supposition that 'the gnostical John . . . favoured free speculation in religious things, and formed his system of

[1] Bruno Bauer, *Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie*, I. 2, 1836, p. 169.
[2] Frommann, *Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff*, Leipzig 1839, pp. 133–137.

belief by reflection upon God's being as such in its abstraction from the world.'[1] These are arbitrary fancies which have no historical substance. John's gospel presents to us a proclamation of the history of salvation. Hence its opening is to be understood, just as this gospel book in general and the whole literature of the New Testament desires to be understood, namely, in connection with the Old Testament Scriptures and forth from them.

The first words recall the beginning of Genesis so evidently, that it would be arbitrary not to refer them to it, though we cannot grant to the relation between the two such an extent as Hoelemann gives it in his dissertation mentioned above. The word is the form of the divine revelation. The revelation of God began with the creation, and thus his speaking began. This is the foundation and presupposition of all following revelation. As often as God has revealed himself, so often he has spoken: *πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως . . . ὁ θεὸς λαλήσας . . . ἐν τοῖς προφήταις* ('God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake . . . by the prophets'), Heb. i. 1. The notion of the word in the Old Testament is confined to this meaning, and is not hypostasized, or does not become a hypostasis. It is of no consequence whether many words are spoken of, or a single word is spoken of, Ps. cxix.; just as we hear now of many laws and now of one law of Jehovah, Ps. xix., in which the whole variety of the rest is comprehended.

The 'word' in Ps. xxxiii. is not hypostatic. It is the word of creation. And even *ὁ παντοδύναμός σου λόγος* ('thy all-powerful word'), Wisd. viii. 5 (?), is not, as Meyer supposes, to be understood hypostatically, any more than the *ῥῆμα θεοῦ* ('word of God'), Heb. vi. 5, xi. 3. And the Memrah of the later learned Judaism in the Chaldee paraphrases of Onkelos and Jonathan[2]—which, moreover, are put much later by the newer scholars, even into the third and fourth century — does not contain a hypostasis, or

[1] Frommann, *Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff*, Leipzig 1839, p. 136.

[2] See Winer, *De Onkeloso eiusque paraphrasi Chaldaica*, Leipzig 1820; Anger, *De Onkelo Chaldaico*, Leipzig 1846; Hoelemann, *De evangelii Joannei introitu*, Leipzig 1855, p. 51 ff.; Pressel in *Herzog's Real-Encyklopädie*, 1st ed., vol. x. p. 613 ff.; and Schürer, *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte*, Leipzig 1874, p. 475 ff.; Schürer gives the further literature.

even a hypostasizing. It is merely a paraphrase for Jehovah himself, chiefly to keep all anthropomorphism far from him.

Hence it is not the case that the notion of the word had in the course of speculative thinking condensed itself into a hypostatic being, the 'Logos,' which then is thought to have appeared in Jesus Christ. It is only the thought, or rather the fact, of the revelation of God, 'of the Word,' which they knew had appeared personally in Jesus Christ, which John thus caught up by this general designation of Christ as the word. Christ is the word of God, the revelation of revelations. He is this in a final way. For God has revealed himself to the world not only through, but even in him. When it is said of the men of the Old Testament: *πρὸσ οὓσ ὁ λόγοσ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγένετο* ('unto whom the word of God came'), x. 35, it is said of him: *ὃν ὁ πατὴρ ἡγίασεν καὶ ἀπέστειλεν εἰσ τὸν κόσμον* ('whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world'). In contrast with those to whom the word of God is come, he is *the* revelation, *the* word of God itself, in his own person. Therefore he is the revelation, the word absolutely. This, however, he is not merely in a final way. He is this finally, because he is this essentially. He is the substance of the entire Old Testament revelation, the substance of the entire Scriptures: *ἐκεῖναί εἰσιν αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ* ('they are they which testify of me'), v. 39. And it is said of Moses, v. 46: *περὶ ἐμοῦ ἐκεῖνοσ ἔγραψεν* ('he wrote of me'). He is the essential contents of the divine revelation, and therefore of the human proclamation of it in every age, New Testament as well as Old Testament. Hence, in spite of Keim,[1] we may still cling to the words of the old Carpzov: 'scripsisset Johannes ita omnino, si vel nullus etiam Plato aut Philo nullus unquam aliquid de *λόγῳ* exposuisset' ('John would have written just so, even if no Plato and no Philo had ever treated of the Logos').

Thus Christ is called 'the word' absolutely,—that is, an essential revelation of God in the history of salvation at all times, and therefore the final revelation in the fulness of time. This is not said of Christ merely in the opening of the gospel, so that the alleged Logos doctrine does not occur in the further

[1] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 112. See Carpzov against Mangey, 1749.

course of the book, and so that the evangelist's faithfulness to history shows itself in the fact that he hesitated to put his own speculations in the mouth of Jesus. On the contrary, this is a recognition of, and a declaration concerning, Jesus which pervades the whole gospel and is found on every page of it. The central thought of the book is that Christ is the absolute revelation of God,—the final, because the essential, revelation. Therefore the proclamation of Jesus as the Logos in this sense is the central purpose of this gospel.

A threefold emphatic declaration is made concerning Christ the Word,—that is, the personal revelation of salvation, in view of his succeeding incarnation: *ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν, πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἦν, θεὸς ἦν* ('was in the beginning, was with God, was God'). The evangelist declares facts with the tone of certainty, brief and decided, and therefore impressive. He opens no discussions as to the conceivability of them, or as to their rational reconciliation with certain beliefs or conceptions of God drawn from other sources. It is a confession which expresses the belief in short, round sentences of declaration and assurance. It is not a religious philosophy, developing thoughts.

Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν is emphasized, not *ὁ λόγος*. The words do not reply to the question: What was in the beginning, whether perchance the word, or the thought, or the act, as Goethe's Faust asks; but: What is true of the word, namely, that it was at the beginning. This is said with a designed recalling of Gen. i. 1. This, of course, does not consist with the fantastic exegesis of the Valentinian gnosticism as to the Eon *ἀρχή*, or the singular explanation of the Alexandrian church fathers, Origen for example, as to the divine *σοφία* ('wisdom') and the like.

But the exegesis which understands *ἀρχή* of eternity (Olsh.) is opposed by the above analogy and the biblical usage.[1] In the passage Prov. viii. 23, which Meyer quotes: *ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸ τοῦ τὴν γῆν ποιῆσαι* ('from the beginning, before the making of the earth'), the thing spoken of is not the eternal

[1] Compare Hoelemann, Hengstenberg, and Hofmann, *Der Schriftbeweis*, 2d ed., Nördlingen 1857, vol. i. p. 164.

being, but the divine acting. And ἀρχή is declared of wisdom, in so far as she was the first that God created. Ἀρχή betokens always the beginning of an action or of a being; in Gen. i. 1, of all divine action; here, of all being. This is not meant as if the emphasis lay on ἦν ('was'); the word already was, at the beginning of all being, and therefore did not merely come into being. Ἦν in the first phrase must stand, and must be understood just as unemphasized as in the two other phrases. The whole weight therefore falls on ἐν ἀρχῇ. The Logos was at the beginning of all being,—that is, he was the first that was, before anything else was. It does not say that he was eternal in the exact sense, but only that he preceded all else, in so far as he was at the beginning, and therefore was the first that was. This expresses less than ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως ('the beginning of the creation'), Rev. iii. 14. But it contains the presupposition of the latter. For if he be the first of all, and therefore be before all else, πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι ('before the world was'), xvii. 5, he can also be the principle of everything else. The following verses bring this forward. The first words say of Christ only that He stands at the beginning of all, thus in time preceding all other being out of God, and that he, therefore, is of the original beginning, and premundane.

The next statement designates his relation to God: πρὸς τὸν θεόν ('with God'). Πρός is more than παρά with the dative, as xvii. 5, παρὰ σοί ('with thee').[1] Like 1 John i. 2, ἦν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ('was with the Father'), it designates not merely the intimacy of fellowship (De Wette, Lücke, Bg.-Crusius, Hengstb.), but the internal union, the living intercourse of fellowship.[2] He who entered into communion with us stood before time in living communion with God.

And thirdly, he was even God by nature: θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος ('the word was God'). The lack of the article before θεός shows that it is intended as the predicate. Hence, also, it is put first with emphasis. He who became man was God; ἦν ('was'), in contrast to that which he became, and thus a designation of his pre-historic position in the form of a historical statement. It is not merely identical with the μορφὴ

[1] Luther translates it 'bei,' but that is the accusative 'bei.'

[2] See Meyer, Hofmann, *Der Schriftbeweis*, 2d ed., Nördlingen 1857, vol. i. p. 164.

θεοῦ ('form of God'), Phil. ii. 6, but it names the presupposition thereof, namely, the θεότης ('divinity'), not in the sense of identity with God, but of being equal to God. He is not called simply θεῖος ('divine'), but θεός ('God'). We cannot argue from the lack of the article to subordination, as Philo's Logos is θεὸς ἐν καταχρήσει ('God in an inexact sense'); the article must be omitted, because θεός is predicate; and, on the contrary, the Logos distinguished from God is made equal to God as to θεότης. The evangelist does not proceed to consider how this one who has θεότης is related to God, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ὁ λόγος ('with whom the Logos was'), how this relation can be reconciled with the unity of God, and the like. He does not intend to give a philosophy of religion. He wishes to say of Christ, of the Word which has appeared in time, that he was with God before time, and even was God by nature.

Verse 2.

The second verse takes up the last point with express emphasis, to lead to what follows. The very one of whom it is true that he was by nature God, was originally with God, in order to be, proceeding from God, the mediator of the creation. Hence this second verse has not independent importance, but merely serves the statement in the third verse. For this purpose both the first members of the first verse are combined. The fact that he originally was with God, is the foundation for his mediating the revelation of God forth from God, and that at first in order to the creation.

Verse 3.

All things were made by him, expresses the fact, as ἐγένετο ('became, were made') shows. This holds good of the entire creation: 'πάντα universitas rerum factarum' ('the universality of things made'), Bengel. Τὰ πάντα is the all as unity, πάντα is the all as the sum of all single things, therefore all without exception. Hence the positive expression is repeated negatively: χωρὶς αὐτοῦ κτλ. ('without him,' etc.). This is not in opposition to the doctrine of Cerinthus as to the demiurge (Ebr.). Against that it would have had to be emphasized that the highest God had created the world. It is

said merely in connection with the statement the evangelist wished to make as to Christ. He is the mediator of all being without exception. 'All being,' for it says γέγονεν, therefore what has been made and now is. Of this οὐδὲ ἕν, 'ne unum quidem,'—stronger than οὐδέν would be,—'not one thing' has come into existence, and is now, without his mediation. The closing word ὃ γέγονεν has something conclusive and restful about it. The mediator of salvation is the mediator of being, and that of all being. Col. i. 16 expresses this thought also. It was a necessary inductive conclusion of the Christian certainty of salvation. The universal saving mediatorial position of Christ towards the world demands, as a presupposition, a mediatorial position of Christ towards the world in general. This knowledge does not flow directly from Christ's mouth, but it rests on his statements as to himself. He was with God before the world, xvii. 5, and exercises in the world the activity of God, v. 17. From this it must necessarily be true of the creation, that it was 'by him.' Thus the third verse belongs to the first verse as a second part, and the second verse forms the transition between the two.

Verse 4.

The fourth verse begins the second thing the evangelist has to say: the revelation of him who was with God.

This explains why the previous chain-like union of the separate phrases is forsaken at the beginning of the fourth verse. Of course that rests on the presupposition that the common division which connects ὃ γέγονεν with what precedes is right. There was a contest about this even in the early church. Irenæus and the Alexandrians connect ὃ γέγονεν with what follows, but Chrysostom declares that to be heretical. The modern exegetes oppose the Alexandrian division with good reason. For whether we take the words thus: 'what has come into existence, was in Him life;' or thus: 'what has come into existence in Him, was life,' both are impossible. In the first place, γέγονεν and ἦν ('was') would not correspond to each other; it must be read either γέγονεν and ἐστίν ('is'), or ἐγένετο ('came into existence') and ἦν. It is true the Sinaitic reads ἐστίν, but that is evidently a correction; it

does not match the following ἦν. Yet, aside from that, it would be too strong an expression to declare of the creation of the world, it 'was life,' instead of it 'had life' (see Godet), to say nothing of the fact that the conception of life afterwards passes over to Christ.

Hofmann[1] has suggested a new division,—namely, to begin afresh with ὃ γέγονεν, and at ἐν αὐτῷ to supply γέγονεν in the sense of ἐστίν. By this he escapes the incompatibility of declaring ζωή ('life') of what was created, instead of declaring it of Christ. And he gains apparently the advantage of not merely attributing life to Christ, but even of designating him as life. But this is at an impossible price. In the first place, there is no room for a phrase of such a form in the perfectly symmetrically constructed circle of these sentences, especially between the third and fourth verses. And in the next place, so far as I can see, γέγονεν must be supplied in an impossible sense. It could very well mean: something has come into existence and now is; but not: something is, in the sense of: it exists, after it came into existence, and thus in contrast with the coming into existence. Least of all can it be supplied from a previous γέγονεν, in that different meaning.

If the fourth and fifth verses form a contrast to the preceding verses, in that they express the second side of the whole thought which forms the foundation of the introduction, we certainly cannot say that the pre-human activity of the Logos in the world is designated by them. This old and usual explanation has experienced various applications. Meyer and Godet understand it of the normal original period of humanity, when it had its life and light in the Logos still unbroken and undisturbed. The ordinary way of taking it refers it to the natural relation of man to God, so that the life is understood of the preserving activity of the Logos, the 'conservatio,' and the light of the natural knowledge of God in God-consciousness (De Wette) and reason (Baumgarten-Crusius), etc. But the historical form of the declaration: 'was,' opposes this; it would have to be 'is.' The evangelist has spoken of the sphere of creation, and the corresponding contrast is formed, not by the sphere of natural being and knowing, but by the

[1] Hofmann, *Weissagung und Erfullung im Alten und im Neuen Testamente*, Nördlingen 1844, vol. ii. p. 8.

sphere of the revelation of the history of salvation. The intention of the evangelist is not to give a review of history from the creation of the world to the incarnation of Christ. The thing before his eye from the first is Christ, the personal revelation. He has only spoken of his mediatorial position towards the creation, in order at once to pass over to his position in the history of salvation, and thus contrast the second creation with the first. He speaks of Christ, and therefore of life and light, in reference to the history of salvation, and not in the natural sense. This is not, however, meant in the sense of the Christian present; but, since the Logos is not only the final, but also the essential word, life and light are true of him in the same sense and to the same extent. Hence we do not say, with Köstlin[1] and Hofmann,[2] that Christ has *become* the light of men by his coming to the earth. For it is said that the light was in him, just as well as the same thing is said of the life. Yet this is still less in the sense of the λόγος σπερματικός ('seed-like Logos'), as if we might refer the light perchance to the higher knowledge of truth in the heathen world, it may be in philosophy. For if Christ be the word in the sense of the revelation in the course of the history of salvation, the light can only be taken in the same sense. In so far as the word—that is, this saving revelation—was present, in so far were life and light present.

VERSE 5.

According to the fifth verse, this light is not a past, but a present one: φαίνει ('shineth') in the present. It has won a continuing presence and activity in the world, but in this world which stands in opposition against it. As the light is given with Christ, so does darkness belong to the world. This opposition of the world to the light has become active: ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν ('and the darkness comprehended it not'). Καταλαμβάνειν is so to seize a thing that we hold it fast. The context must show in what sense. The conception 'occupare,' overpower (Origen), is linguistically admissible, but does not fit the context. Better say, has not grasped it, has not appropriated it. The historical tense

[1] Köstlin, *Der Lehrbegriff des Evang. . . . Johannis*, Berlin 1843, p. 103, note.
[2] Hofmann, *Der Schriftbeweis*, 2d ed., Nördlingen 1857, vol. i. p. 111.

shows that a definite historical fact is meant, as a representative sign of the conduct of the darkness in general. What other fact could this be than the rejection of Jesus on the part of Israel? The disposition of the darkness or of the world revealed itself in this. Such it has been at heart in every period, and such it will, upon the whole, constantly remain.

In him was life, and the life was the light of men. It is not: in him was the life, so that the stress lies on 'in him;' the life, that which we call life, was in him, so that it is only to be sought and found in him. On the contrary, the stress and the progress of the discourse lies in the predicatively intended declarations concerning Christ: life and light. Both are here attributed to Christ. He is not named so himself, but these form his substance,—his substance, that is, for those for whom he is in general the word and the like. And it is only on this account, because men have this in him, that he is so called. This is of like character with v. 26, where he says that life is his substance as it is God's, whence he also can impart life. Such declarations of Jesus lie at the foundation of this testimony of the evangelist's. And this is to be taken as comprehensively as the former are intended comprehensively.

How are life and light to be understood, and how are they related to each other? If, as we have seen, Christ is here spoken of only in a sense referring to the history of salvation, then life and light must be understood only in this sense. We must not take them in the sense of physical or general moral life and light, as Lücke did, but only in the sense of salvation. This agrees with the further usage of the language of Scripture. In the Old Testament usage, God is designated as the life of his people, or of the pious, Deut. xxx. 20; Ps. xxxvi. 10 (9): 'For with thee is the fountain of life: in thy light shall we see light;' Prov. iii. 18, viii. 35 f.; see Hengstenberg. And in John's constant usage of language, ζωή ('life') is used alternately with, and is taken as equivalent to, ζωὴ αἰώνιος ('eternal life'); see iii. 15, 36, v. 24 ff., 39 f., vi. 33, 35, 47, 48, 53; 1 John i. 1. It therefore designates life in the essential sense, the life which alone deserves to be called life, the real life—that is, the salvation of communion with God. The conception of it is determined by the contrast of death. Death is

absolute want of power, the negation of the true substantial being. Life is the substantial being, complete in itself, and hence an indissoluble being, springing from itself. This, however, is only given in and with communion with God. This is the life of men.

The light in the same manner is only intended in the sense which respects salvation, likewise in accordance with Scripture usage. Darkness is the expression for the wicked and lost condition of a state of being which is separated from God. Light is the expression for the opposite condition of salvation. It indicates not merely intellectual illumination, but has before all a moral meaning; see Isa. xlix. 6. Thus Christ intends it when he calls himself the light of the world, viii. 12, and elsewhere; or when, in agreement with him, the apostles call Christians a light, and describe their walk as a walk in the light, Matt. v. 14; Eph. v. 8; 1 John i. 7. Hence light almost coincides with holiness; see 1 John i. 5–7.

The life was the light of men. How are life and light related to each other? Light is predicated of the life. Therefore light is a predicate of the life. This corresponds with our common usage also. We speak of the light of life, and of the night of death. Hence light designates the determination of the life. Life betokens the being; light, the manner of being: the former, the thing; the latter, the character of the thing: the former, the substance; the latter, the form—this in the widest sense: the former, the real being of the communion with God; the latter, the normal character of the likeness to God. Hence the conception of the light is not to be limited to the sphere of knowledge, as Baumgarten-Crusius, and Weiss[1] also in his own way, explain it. Nor shall we have to recur to Philo for an explanation of these conceptions in general, as Frommann[2] does. Frommann finds here more spiritual conceptions than the Old Testament offers. But, as Weiss especially has proved in detail, the whole view is to be traced to the Scriptures, and that to the Old Testament.

The life, it is said, was at the same time the light, namely, in so far as the real being of the communion with God, which is given in Christ, is at the same time the rightly constituted

[1] Weiss, *Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff*, Berlin 1862, p. 41 ff.
[2] Frommann, *Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff*, Leipzig 1839, p. 97.

being of likeness to God, and can transfer into the same. It now ever proves itself to be such in the world, since it came to the world in Christ. But the world has rejected it. Thus the evangelist has designated the contents of his gospel in the most general way, and placed us at once in the midst of the great contrasts, whose historical bearing he intends to report to us. We can even here find and feel that tragical impulse which pervades his whole gospel. He closes with a wail, in view of which the joy at the light which was in the world could not reach its expression.

Verses 6–13.

To this now is added the second circle, vers. 6–13. The light is come into the world, but the world has not received it. Yet some have received it in belief. This forms the contents of the paragraph before us. It is of a somewhat different kind from the first. In the first, the two stages of Jesus' being are contrasted with each other; and at the second stage we see what the world had in him, and how it rejected this gift. That paragraph moved in such double-membered contrasts. Here there are three members: announced and witnessed to, he has come, vers. 6–8; and yet he has been rejected, vers. 9–11; while he brought adoption to those who receive him in belief, ver. 12 f. This second circle contains, as we see, the substance of the gospel in a still more exact manner than the first. Hence, in general, in the three sentences of this paragraph the three parts of the whole gospel mirror themselves. Far less than at vers. 1–5 can it here be said that a doctrine or the like is given as a foundation for the real historical gospel. And it is here much more evident than in the former verses that the discourse turns only upon the historical Christ, and not upon a previous history of him (against Olshausen and Baur).

When the evangelist said previously, Christ is given to the world for life and light that it should receive Him, he expressed thereby the fundamental thought of his whole gospel—namely, that Christ is the Son of God for belief. It is a matter of course that the *καταλαμβάνειν* ('receiving'), which the world has not exercised, is fulfilled in belief. Hence this first most general testimony to Christ stands in a closer relation to the

evangelist's final aim, xx. 31. His thoughts also in what follows move in the contrast of belief and non-belief. Before, however, he can speak of the twofold actual bearing of unbelief, vers. 10, 11, and of belief, ver. 12, he must first name the way in which belief was made possible, and the duty of belief.

VERSES 6, 7.

There came forth a man sent from God, his name John. He came for a witness, to bear witness of the light, that all through him might believe. Ἐγένετο is not equivalent to ἦν, but the designation of a historical fact—namely, of the historical appearance of the Baptist; see Mark i. 4; Luke i. 5.[1] It should therefore not be connected with ἀπεσταλμένος ('sent') as a paraphrase, say for ἀπεστάλη. It is an independent expression for the fact of the historical appearance of the Baptist. The Baptist is first designated and introduced most generally by ἄνθρωπος ('man'), and then characterized more closely by the appositional ἀπεσταλμένος κτλ. Thus the discourse, advancing step by step from the more general to the more special, ever draws smaller circles. At first, in general, a historical appearance (ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος); then this characterized as one sent by God, and therefore standing in relation to the revelation of salvation; hereupon he is named in his historical actuality (ὄνομα κτλ.); this is succeeded in the seventh verse by the statement of his calling, to serve which he appeared: on behalf of testimony, and that testimony to him who was the light; and, finally, we learn what aim was pursued by this his testimony—namely, that of belief.

The aim of the discourse concerning the Baptist is the emphasizing his testimony, which has been given to the world. In this is comprehended the whole importance of the Baptist, and towards this his whole importance is directed. And this testimony, again, is brought into connection with the final aim of belief. This is to establish both the possibility and the duty of belief, just as the posture of Christ himself towards the world aimed at belief. Such is the connection of this account of the Baptist's testimony. Therefore the Baptist is not made subordinate in contrast to Christ, as Olshausen

[1] [Luke i. 8 would perhaps suit better as a confirmation.—C. R. G.]

thinks. Nor can we separate vers. 6–8 from what follows, as Köstlin does. Nor have they such an independent character that they can be viewed as a special circle in themselves, as I suggested in my little book of 1852.[1] Nor may we, with Baur, construct the introduction of the testimony so logically as to recall here the position that knowledge is the first point in the unity of the subject with the object. Yet there is, of course, a series of contrasts presented between the two when the testimony of the Baptist to Christ is brought under consideration. The Baptist, it is true, is sent of God, and therefore a prophet. Nevertheless he is still ever a man who has the aim and the substance of his sending and of his testimony not in himself, but outside of himself. Hence the person, because human, is in itself without importance; its importance lies only in the testimony it has to give.

Verse 8.

To make this perfectly clear, the eighth verse repeats in a negative form, and with emphasis, what has just been said: *He was not the light, but that he should bear witness of the light.* The emphasis is not on ἦν, as Meyer supposes: he *was* not the light, but he was to bear witness to the light. This is opposed by the use of ἐκεῖνος ('he, that one'), for which John, more than any other New Testament writer, has a great liking, but which he always uses with special emphasis. In John it does not serve, as it does elsewhere, to thrust the subject or object into the distance, but to bring it forward with particular stress.[2] This emphasizing the Baptist includes in itself the silent contrast to Jesus: that one was not the light, as was often thought among the people, see Luke iii. 15, but another one was.

In contrast with this comes now the positive statement of his calling: but he was to testify of the light. Ἵνα ('in order that, to') is often used in John as if independent; see ix. 3, xiii. 18, xv. 25. The general conception of determination supplies itself as a matter of course from what precedes, without the thing to be supplied being exactly thought and grammatically construed. Hence we are not to supply ἦν

[1] Luthardt, *De Compositione Evangelii Joannei*, Nuremberg 1852, p. 12.
[2] See Steitz on Ἐκεῖνος, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1859, pp. 497–506.

here as Godet does, since it would then have to be supplied in a sense different from that in which it has just been used, where it is a mere copula. Nor are we to supply ἦλθεν ('came') as Meyer does, since the account in its course has freed itself more from the strict connection with the seventh verse. The thought of the vocation results from all that precedes. The Baptist's vocation was to witness to the light. That absorbs his whole importance. It designates both his difference from Christ and his relation to him. In Christ, on the contrary, vocation, testimony, and person combine in one, and that because his calling was not secondarily attached to his person as to a human one, but from the first was one with it, or because his person is divine, because he as to his person proceeded from God. This expresses, then, both the distinction between and the relation between Christ and the Baptist, and thus the peculiarity of the former. If we recall now the passage x. 35 f., there is nothing else said in reference to the peculiarity of Christ than that he was the Son of God.

Verse 9.

The testimony was to serve the procuring of belief upon this Son of God, and that at first in a preparatory way. This we learn from the ninth verse, if ἐρχόμενον ('coming') may be taken as a future. As a rule, indeed, they understand this verse differently, though quite variously. Either they connect ἐρχόμενον with ἄνθρωπον ('man'), as Meyer and Godet do, in agreement with most of the older exegetes, as Luther and Calvin. Then they emphasize the subject, it may be: He was the light; so Luther. But in this case the subject would have also to be expressed. A subject that must be supplied cannot have the emphasis. And just as little can τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν ('the true light'), since it has the article, be taken as the predicate, as it would be in that case. Both these hold good against Godet, who understands τὸ φῶς ('the light') as the subject—namely, the light of which he was to bear witness. To avoid this mistake, Meyer lays stress on the ἦν which is put in front: the light was in existence. This is said to prepare tragically for the following ὁ κόσμος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγνω ('the world knew him not'). But if the simple thing ἦν

could be so applied, what is the use of the apposition ἐρχόμενον κτλ. ? Meyer calls it a stately abundance. But stateliness is here utterly without a motive,—the paraphrase itself is strange, and the thought is incorrect. For the light does not enlighten every man that comes into the world, but only every man who lets himself be enlightened. Hence ἐρχόμενον must be connected with ἦν κτλ. But not as a mere paraphrase: there was coming, namely, he came, as Baumgarten-Crusius has it. The evangelist could have said that more simply. Nor is it in the relative sense: there was in process of coming at that time, 'was intending to appear,' Luke i. 24, which would be a very superfluous exactness.

Ἐρχόμενον is to be understood as a future, as ἔρχεσθαι is also elsewhere in the New Testament used in a future sense.[1] The light is thus designated as one that is to come, whose coming the Baptist accordingly prepared, so that it should be received in belief. This verse can, however, be understood, and therefore also connected, in two ways. On the one hand, namely, it may serve only to lay stress on the importance of the testimony in question, as a preparatory one, so that it gains the sense: 'for the real light was still to appear;' and thus must be joined to what precedes. On the other hand, it may even introduce the contrast to the same in the sense: the real light, however, was to come personally; and thus it must be joined to what follows. The latter is to be preferred, both on account of the chain-like union of vers. 9 and 10, and on account of the emphasized characterizing of the light. 'Was to' is spoken of in the sense of: it was determined according to God's saving decree.

The light is characterized in a twofold way, as the true light τὸ ἀληθινόν, and as designed to enlighten every man—that is, to put him in the right condition of light. Πάντα ἄνθρωπον, every man, stronger than: all men; 'ne unus quidem excluditur,' 'not a single one is excluded,' Bengel. But here this, of course, is to be supplied: every one who is lighted at all. For the world is the realm of darkness, so that there must be an illumination; but the light which appeared in Christ has this vocation for all. Hence the general human

[1] See Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. p. 319 ff. Similarly Bäumlein, Tholuck, and others.

reason or the like, which Baumgarten-Crusius suggests, is no more spoken of here than it is above in the fourth and fifth verses. The light, therefore, is called the true one, *τὸ ἀληθινόν*. *Ἀληθινός* is a particularly familiar word to John's gospel, see iv. 23, 37, vi. 32, vii. 28, xv. 1, xix. 35, and denotes the reality of the idea. All that is earthly and sensible is a figurative speech, whose true and full reality is that which is spiritual.[1] Thus Christ is the light which alone deserves to be called light, in contrast with all else that bears this name in an unjustifiable or subordinate manner. For his activity alone is in the true sense an illuminating—that is, a transferring into the realm of light and into the nature of light. The evangelist calls Christ the true light for every man, just as he called himself the light of the world, viii. 12. Neither here, therefore, nor in the fourth and fifth verses, where the same thing is said, is anything contained which the evangelist taught from his own speculation. It is based entirely on Jesus' self-witness.

The Baptist's calling was to bear witness of the light. But this real light itself was to appear. And it did appear. Yet was it received?—Such is the progress of the thought.

Verse 10.

It was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. After the Hebraizing manner[2] of John's gospel, these three sentences are co-ordinated grammatically with each other, instead of having their logical relation of subordination brought to expression. With the words *ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ* ('in the world'), the first sentence connects crosswise, or chain-like,[3] with the preceding one, and with *ἦν* it proceeds to that which is new, from the determination to the reality of existence. While Christ has been spoken of before in the neuter, the masculine here comes in involuntarily. For *δι' αὐτοῦ* ('by him,' not *δι' αὐτόν*, 'on account of him,' as the Sinaitic manuscript reads) is to be understood as a masculine.

[1] See above, p. 57 f.

[2] Winer, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*, sec. 3, 7th ed., Leipzig 1867, p. 27 ff. 8th English edition, by Moulton, Edinburgh 1877. See also on this above, p. 36 f.

[3] See above, p. 46 f.

The evangelist had previously designated Jesus Christ as the personal word. Life is his substance which he imparts; light is the way in which he works, ver. 4. Hence he can name himself both—life and light. For when he speaks of light, it is not merely a something about which he teaches, but Christ himself of whom he bears witness. Hence he speaks of him as masculine. What follows reports how Christ as such was received. First, by the *κόσμος* ('world'), then by *τὰ ἴδια* ('his own'). *Ὁ κόσμος* is repeated three times with tragical emphasis, the noun instead of the pronoun. This makes the contrast between what should be and what was, the more affecting. The same purpose is served by the seemingly indifferent *καί* ('and'). The very indifference of the expression makes the contrast of the thought the more impressive, —yes, the more overpowering.[1]

Verse 11.

That which is said of the world is repeated of his own in the eleventh verse. The world in her darkness has not known him. His own, in their resistance, have not received him. We are not to understand the same thing by *ὁ κόσμος* and *τὰ ἴδια*. *Τὰ ἴδια* indicates a closer relation than can be the result merely of *δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο*. *Τὰ ἴδια* means, as most exegetes think, Israel. But Israel is not called Christ's property because Wisdom, or the Logos, as they interpret it, has taken its seat here (De Wette, Lücke), but because Israel is taken from among the other nations to be the peculiar people of Jehovah, Ex. xix. 5, Deut. vii. 6, Ps. cxxxv. 4, etc., and thus to be the place of the saving revelation and of the prefiguring and preparatory history of Christ, Eph. ii. 12. This expression, therefore, is to be explained from this fact of the history of revelation, and not, for example, from Alexandrian conceptions.

Whether, however, we look to the world or to Israel in particular, the result in either relation is at heart the same. He was concealed from the former; the latter remained far off from him. He was hidden from the former, because it, which was in darkness, shut itself up therein away from the light. How and why that was, Jesus explained in the talk with

[1] See above, p. 43 f. Compare also Matt. xxiii. 37: *and* ye would not.

Nicodemus, iii. 19 ff. That is the birth of the knowledge expressed by the evangelist in the passage before us. Those words of Jesus, however, are spoken partly in view of the future, and partly on the ground of the behaviour of Israel, which serves as a picture for the behaviour of men in general. It is the same here. Hence, Israel's behaviour is at once added with the change of the expression παρέλαβον ('received'), which is induced by the peculiar relation of Israel to Christ. They *received him not*—that is to say, as their Lord, whose own they were. It is arbitrary to infer from the change of the expression a difference in guilt, so that the guilt of Israel would be named as greater (Meyer), for the behaviour of the world completed itself in Israel. The difference is occasioned by the difference in the designation of the subject. By both, by ἔγνω as well as by παρέλαβον, the idea of belief is to be expressed. For as παραλαμβάνειν is here meant to indicate the reception of the object into one's own life, so also γινώσκειν is meant to indicate that knowledge which at the same time includes in itself the entrance upon a relation of communion.

Therefore belief was the duty of men, of men in general, because the world was made by Christ. That only makes sense if by creation something is put in men which renders belief on the self-witness of the Son of God possible, when it comes to men with the demand for belief. That can be nothing else than the Spirit of God the Creator, which is in man, and moves him inwardly, besides testifying to him, when he hears the word from Christ, that this word is truth. Thus, then, a preparatory stage before the time of Christ is certainly hinted at. It only makes confusion, however, to set the subject of the apostolic preaching in direct relation to this. The Spirit of God the Creator is meant, which declares itself to men chiefly by the conscience. It is still more confusing when any one understands that which follows as relating to this preparatory stage. It is only a consequence of this when Baur thinks: that as the Logos from the beginning is the same subject, so, in the case of those who become one with Him in belief, the same relation of sonship to God has place before as after. This removes altogether what is special to Christianity, and to the working of the Spirit of Christ who became man. The evangelist speaks only of a belief in the

personal revelation and appearance of Christ, ver. 12, and of a sonship which is conditioned solely by the historical Son of God.

These, now, are the contents of the third chief clause.

VERSES 12, 13.

The evangelist has before this spoken of the world and of Israel, in so far as both are unbelieving, as a whole; and now, when he speaks of the believers, he speaks of single persons. This lies in the absolute opening ὅσοι, ver. 12. We have already seen what right he has to put the case thus. Israel as a whole, οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, rejects Him. Only certain exceptions form the other part. Hence that is the other side of his conclusion. There is a number of such as have received (the simple ἔλαβον emphasizes willingness more than the composite παρέλαβον) Christ, and thereby become children of God. It is true the question is at first only of a title to sonship, for it is now pretty well settled that ἐξουσία does not mean dignity, rank, or the like. Yet it does not betoken mere possibility, or power (De Wette, Lücke), or capability (Hengstenberg, Brückner), since it goes beyond this conception in the other Johannean passages. Baumgarten-Crusius well refers to v. 27, with which also x. 18 and xvii. 2 may be compared. Only the conception of empowering and of title suits these passages (see Meyer). The thing in hand is only the title to sonship, not sonship itself, because the evangelist thought of the period of Christ's earthly life, and of belief during that. This, however, did not yet transfer men to the sonship. Sonship had the Spirit of the new birth as its presupposition, and the imparting of this only came after that period of the earthly life of Christ. From this can be seen how false (Baumgarten-Crusius) the conclusion is, that the becoming children of God is made dependent on the will and co-operation of men themselves. The case is exactly the reverse of what Hilgenfeld makes it.[1] He puts the being begotten of God before the reception of historical Christianity. It does not say that something which they possessed has just come to consciousness in them.[2] It says that they, by means of the historical

[1] Hilgenfeld, *Die Evangelien*, Leipzig 1854, pp. 254, 255.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 254.

appearance of Christ, and of receiving him in belief, should *become* something which they accordingly were not before. Those who have accepted Christ have received the title to this, and those who belong to the believers have experienced this fact, for the birth is a fact that befalls a man. This double thing, title and experience, is mediated only thus, but thus of itself; that on the ground of, and as a reward of belief, the birth from God is imparted to them by the working of his Spirit, so that, therefore, as many of them as are believers have experienced it. In this we have already shown how the closer explanation which follows,[1] *τοῖς πιστεύουσιν*, is related to *ὅσοι ἔλαβον* ('as many as received'). It is to be taken as present and not as imperfect.

Accordingly, the right behaviour is *λαμβάνειν αὐτόν* ('to receive him'), or, as an abiding characteristic: *πιστεύειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ* ('to believe on his name')—that is, by the well-known use of the term 'name,' on his revelation, on him as the one whom he has shown himself to be. The blessed reward for this is the being begotten of God. Baumgarten-Crusius has confused the matter by explaining the divine sonship by divine relationship and love. The last does not belong here, nor does the first in the sense he means. The contrast compels us to think first, not of disposition and conversation (De Wette), but of a fact which affects the essence of the man as such. Hence the thirteenth verse, by the closer declaration as to the *τέκνα θεοῦ* ('children of God') (for the masculine *οἵ* refers to this, and not to *πιστεύουσιν*), purposely designates the contrast of the natural birth quite concretely, so that we may also understand *ἐκ θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν* ('were born of God') as exactly as possible. Lücke sees in those three designations: *ἐξ αἱμάτων, ἐκ θελήματος σαρκός, ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρός* ('of blood, of the will of the flesh, of the will of man'), only a varying expression for one and the same thing, so that he explains the second as Hebraizing, and the first and third as Græcising. That, however, is ascribing too much unnecessary tautology to the evangelist. It is not hard to see how *σάρξ* ('flesh') and *ἀνήρ* ('man') differ. Of course it is not as woman and man, as has been thought (Augustine and Olshausen). Probably the first designates the man, as

[1] See above, p. 33.

begotten, on the side of his nature; and the second, on the side of his personal will. We cannot see why *θέλημα* ('will') in the third sentence should be used in a more noble sense[1] (Baumgarten-Crusius). *Αἵματα* names the material, not simply the blood as the seat of propagating physical life (Meyer). The plural shows this. It does not designate the communion of the sexes (Hoelemann), but, as in the analogous Greek phrases,[2] designates the material as the sum of the constituent parts. All three expressions therefore name that which is natural according to its different relations. God stands in contrast to all three relations. The birth from God (*ἐκ θεοῦ*, not merely *ἀπό*, or even *ὑπὸ θεοῦ*) is of such a kind. Then, too, the life which is given with this will be different from the life which begins with the other birth. This birth from God befalls him who believes. But Christ has proclaimed himself as the one whom he is, in order to be received in belief. And such belief now is exercised by certain persons in contrast with the unbelieving world. The evangelist closes the second circle of the opening with this thought. It has probably been clearly enough shown, at the same time, how entirely this, too, agrees with the fundamental design of the gospel.

Verses 14–18.

Let us recall the essential points. The witness has come forth from him. He has made himself known as the Light. He has given the life, and therewith founded a communion of love. He probably chose *τέκνα θεοῦ* ('children of God'), and not *υἱοί* ('sons'), so as to emphasize the intimacy of the relation, 1 John iii. 1. The third circle now joins on this in vv. 14–18. For that communion is founded and made possible by the fact that he has come into actual communion with us. The evangelist, however, so tells this as to choose now the strongest and most exact expression for the contrasted thoughts to which he meant to rise from the starting sentences of the first verse, and which he has already reached in

[1] See Grimm's quotation from Eustathius, *ad Homer. Iliad*, vi. 211: *φησὶν οἱ σοφοί, ὡς τοῦ σπέρματος ὕλην τοῦ αἵματος ἔχοντος.* Grimm, *Lexicon Græco-Latinum in Libros Novi Testamenti*, Leipzig 1868, p. 10.

[2] Meyer recalls, among others, the words of Euripides: *ἄλλων τραφεὶς ἀφ' αἱμάτων.*

various ways. The Word which came to us, was God with God from the beginning. Hence it came forth. It was witnessed to when it appeared and yet met unbelief, and only in part, belief. Where, however, it met the latter, it brought the blessing of divine sonship. Yes, the Word became flesh, and thus dwelt among us, and imparted to us the fulness of his divine sonship. This progress of the thoughts shows us how easy it is for the evangelist to take up the subject, ὁ λόγος, again.

VERSE 14.

In καὶ ὁ λόγος ('and the Word') he combines all that he had said of Him whom at the beginning he calls λόγος. Then he adds the sentence with which the motion of his thoughts comes to a conclusion and to rest. He had spoken twice already of the reception Christ found. The progress in this is unmistakable. The essential points of this course of thought are: unbelief, then unbelief and belief, and finally, the blessedness of belief. The higher sweep of the language shows that he has now come to what he wished to reach. Its lyric movement differs essentially from the majestic epic calmness of the hymn at the beginning. There the objective as such is spoken of. Here it has become subjective. Here is the testimony of an event, of a blessed experience.

From what has been said, results first of all that καί ('and') is not to be taken as giving a reason (Chrysostom, *et al.*, Godet too), or inferential (Bleek), or the like. What ver. 14 ff. says is far too independent and weighty to offer a point logically subordinate. It is the grammatical, the continuing καί, which introduces the chief thing: And — to give the chief thing — the Word, of whom all is true that has already been said, became flesh. The progress of the discourse lies in σὰρξ ἐγένετο ('became flesh'), not in ὁ λόγος ('the Word'); for this, indeed, is but the repetition of what goes before. The thing emphasized is, not that the one who became flesh is the Logos, but that the Logos has become flesh. Baur asks how what precedes could also be said of the Logos who appeared in the flesh, since the chief statement on which all this hangs, namely, that he became flesh, only comes later, in the fourteenth verse. But he has overlooked the fact that the word

is meant to designate not merely his personal appearance, but also the intimacy and directness of the relation to us into which he has entered. This is called forth by the subjective point of view under which Christ's appearance is here placed. Hence we shall learn how entirely he has entered into communion with us. This throws out all attempts to press the word σάρξ ('flesh'), so as to draw from it simply a taking of the bodily form or the like.[1] He was God with God. He became like us. This is the contrast, spoken first, not of the essence, but of the form of his being, from one to the other of which he went over in the act of becoming man. For ἐγένετο ('became') is to be understood of this historical act. John could even have written ἄνθρωποσ ἐγένετο ('he became man'); but he did not wish to speak merely of human being, but of our earthly state of existence, and of the entrance of the Logos into this. Herein rests the blessedness of the incarnation, that He became thoroughly one of ourselves. In other places it is called: ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθεν ('he came in the flesh'), 1 John iv. 2; 2 John 7; see also ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί ('was manifested in the flesh'), 1 Tim. iii. 16. But σὰρξ ἐγένετο emphasizes more strongly the communion with us into which he has entered. This is therefore the essential purpose of this expression, and not the emphasizing of the weakness and liability to suffering, as many say (Olshausen, Tholuck, Hengstenberg). Still less does it mark the opposition to Docetism (Frommann, De Wette). The becoming flesh stands on the same grade with the following 'dwelling,' etc. As a matter of course, this expression presupposes the complete manhood of Christ, not with the exclusion of the πνεῦμα ('spirit'), whose place the Logos fills, as Apollinaris thought. It is true the act of becoming flesh is not related, but it is designated according to its essential contents, and not denied, as Keim declares.[2] In like manner, the supernatural origin of the life of Jesus is here neither taught nor denied. Yet it is not the less presupposed as a matter of course, since it treats of an

[1] See Zeller, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, I. i. pp. 74–101, III. iv. pp. 744–752. Even Köstlin, *Der Lehrbegriff des Evangeliums und der Briefe Johannis*, Berlin 1843, p. 39.

[2] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 125. Compare against him, Luthardt, *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1875, p. 204.

already existing and miraculous person, the Word which was with God (against Meyer). Godet is right in finding in *σὰρξ ἐγένετο* the thought: 'That the divine subject has entered into the human manner of existence after giving up the divine manner of being. The personal subject has remained the same, but it has given up its divine condition to take the human condition.' But he is wrong, and lacking in dogmatical thought, when from that point he attacks the doctrine of the church as to the two natures. Nature and condition are two different things.

The continuation of the lofty discourse in *ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν* ('dwelt among us'), matches the design in the choice of the expression *σὰρξ ἐγένετο*. Now that he has entered into our likeness, God has dwelt among us in an utterly different way from before. Here we are to refer to that fact of God's dwelling in Israel, in the tabernacle of the congregation, and to the promises joined thereunto of the future dwelling of God among his people, Ex. xxv. 8, xxix. 45; Lev. xxvi. 11; Joel iii. 17 (Hebrew is iv. 17; German, iii. 22); Ezek. xxxvii. 27. But we are not to turn to what is said in a mere secondary way of the Logos or of Wisdom, Sir. xxiv. 8; or to what is said of the Shekinah in the Targums (Lücke, Baumgarten-Crusius, De Wette). *Ἐν ἡμῖν*, in our midst. It means the circle in whose midst Jesus dwelt most nearly. It is true he dwelt among men and in Israel, but it was while tarrying in the circle which joined itself most closely to him. These words look back at this historical recollection of the intercourse with Jesus, as in 1 John i. 1; and it is altogether arbitrary to deprive them of this definite relation, and extend them to the expression of the general Christian consciousness.[1]

God has become flesh; he who was in the beginning with God has dwelt among us, and has shown himself to us as the one who came forth from God. Thus *καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα κτλ.* ('and we beheld,' etc.) belongs with the rest, and is not to be taken as a parenthesis (so often: even Lücke, De Wette) or interruption (Godet), but is an essential point of the progress

[1] Hilgenfeld, *Die Evangelien*, Leipzig 1854, p. 340 f.; Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 157. Compare against these, Luthardt, *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1875, p. 179 f.

in the connection. Hence it is to be drawn to what follows, with Baumgarten-Crusius, who thinks that, beginning here, threefold blessings should be drawn from the personal presence: in beholding, vers. 14, 15, *ἐθεασάμεθα*; in life-experience, ver. 16, *ἐλάβομεν*; and in learning, vers. 17, 18, *ἐξηγήσατο*. Rather we may say that the whole consists of the three members, ver. 14, ver. 15, and vers. 16–18: he showed himself to us as the one who came forth from God; the Baptist witnessed to him as such; and we have experienced him as such. That *ἐθεασάμεθα* is to be taken thus, appears from the relation of the expression to ii. 11, whence we may see that in the first place the self-revelations of Jesus are referred to; especially those in the *σημείοις* ('miracles'), in which he caused belief to behold his *δόξα* ('glory'), see 1 John i. 1. He could give his *δόξα* to be beheld, because he had become flesh, *σὰρξ γενόμενος*; but the *δόξα* itself is the *δόξα* of the *λόγος* to which *αὐτοῦ* ('his') refers. *Δόξα* is the appearance of the hidden being, and therefore in Jesus Christ the appearance of the *λόγος*. *Λόγος* designates Christ as the essential and personal revelation of salvation which appeared in Jesus Christ in human reality. And the *δόξα* is the appearance of this essence of Jesus Christ, to be the bearer of the essential revelation of salvation. Therefore the evangelist does not, as Baur says,[1] put Jesus unceremoniously by a direct bound into the place of the subject the Logos, but the subject is one and the same. But this subject is not the prehistoric in contrast with the historic, or the divine essence in contrast with man, so that the *δόξα* would be of itself the divine majesty (Meyer), the glory of Jehovah (Hengstenberg), or the rays of his perfection (Godet), so that it would amount to *τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος* ('the fulness of the Godhead'), Col. ii. 9; for, as we have seen, *ὁ λόγος* does not mean this. On the contrary, it is the glory of Christ as the *λόγος*—that is, as the essential and personal revelation of God for salvation. Hence it is not the revelation of the divine omnipotence and the like, but, as is said later, of grace and truth. *Δόξα* is to be taken in this historical sense, and not metaphysically or otherwise. In this way this saying agrees, too, with xvii. 1, 5, where Christ

[1] Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 99.

begs for the δόξα with God, and therefore for a δόξα which he then no longer had; while here a δόξα is in question which he constantly had.

This δόξα is defined more closely by δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός, πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας ('glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth'). It has always been acknowledged that ὡς is not comparative, but declaratory. It does not read ὡς τοῦ μονογενοῦς, but without the article: as is proper, and as fits one who is μονογενὴς παρὰ πατρός ('only-begotten of the Father'). This is not as if there might be several only-begotten ones, but simply that Christ is thus only-begotten. Moreover, he is not here named so, but is characterized as such. Μονογενής means the only son or child, Heb. xi. 17; Luke vii. 12, viii. 42, ix. 38. So, then, Christ is in John called the only Son of God, 'unicus,' 'unigenitus,' John i. 18, iii. 16, 18; 1 John iv. 9. God has many children or sons; but no other is God's son in the way that Christ is. Thus it says nothing else than what ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ('the son of God'), with the distinguishing article, says; only there lies in the μονογενής ('only-begotten') the expression of intimacy. In what sense is Christ called μονογενής? The common church view refers this to the 'generatio æterna' ('eternal generation'). Meyer also takes it as the expression of the 'metaphysical relation of existence forth from the being of the Father, according to which he was ἐν ἀρχῇ ('in the beginning') with God, and even of divine nature and personality. But ὡς ('as') makes the δόξα ('glory') of the only-begotten like to the δόξα of the Logos, which the disciples beheld. And this, as we saw, does not designate the glory of the divine essence as it is in itself, but refers to Christ in so far as he is the essential and personal revelation of God (the Word), and therefore μονογενής must be understood of this. And so it names not an inward relation, in the divine essence, of the eternal Son to the Father, as it is in itself, aside from all revelation, but a historical relation. In the idea of sonship lie the two points of origin and of communion. It is so meant here. Christ stands in the relation of origin and of communion to God, in the absolute sense, as no other does. Yet this relation is here meant only as it exists for the revelation of salvation, and not aside from that.

Christ, however, is related to the revelation of salvation not merely as the man Jesus, but always.

Thus, also, we shall understand the sonship, neither, as is commonly done, of the inward divine process in the Trinity as it is in itself, nor merely of the becoming man, as Hofmann does,[1] but of the relation of communion, founded in God, between Christ and God for the revelation of salvation, as it, in the various stages of its being and in the various forms of its existence, was ever the same. Lücke and others have joined *μονογενήσ* ('only-begotten') with *πρωτότοκοσ* ('first-born'), Col. i. 15. But while the relation to God determines the idea of *μονογενήσ*, the relation to the world determines that of *πρωτότοκοσ*. In relation to everything created, he assumes the place of a first-born. The comparison of the preceding *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου* ('the image of the invisible God') would be nearer, though in another direction. He is the image of the invisible God, in order to make him visible—that is, to reveal him.

If the relation to revelation lies in *μονογενήσ*, then *παρὰ πατρόσ* ('of the Father') is the more easily united to it. Both, as most exegetes agree, are to be taken together. To join *παρὰ πατρόσ* to *δόξαν*, as Hofmann,[2] for example, does, would bring in a foreign thought. When the *δόξα* ('glory') is named as one such as is proper to the only-begotten, the point of fitness and not of gift appears in the *δόξα*. *Παρά*, however, joined to *μονογενήσ* designates not, as Lücke thinks, the descent, so that it would be identical with *ἀπό* or *ἐξ*, but the sending or the having come from the Father. This point is joined to that of the personal being (*μονογενήσ*): of the Only-begotten of God, who is or is come from the Father. This, then, naturally is true also of his *δόξα*.

The glory of such a Son of God, who is come from the Father, has therefore revealed itself in Jesus Christ. That is, it has shown itself in his appearance that he is the essential revelation of God, being and coming from God. His appearance was of such a kind that they could infer this from it. What must it have been by which this showed itself? What else was it than that he showed himself as the Life

[1] Hofmann, *Der Schriftbeweis*, 2d ed., Nördlingen 1857, vol. i. p. 119.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 120.

and the Light? The life in him, which he therefore bore essentially in himself, was such that they recognised from it that the communion with God was for him not an acquired, but an essential one, and so ever existing. And in revealing himself as the light, he showed that the right condition of being, into which, therefore, he could transfer others, was likewise proper to him. From these two things they perceived his divine Sonship, and therefore the corresponding δόξα consisted therein. Accordingly, he is designated as πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας ('full of grace and truth'). It is enough to mention, without proving it,[1] that πλήρης is said of Christ (αὐτοῦ), and that it is in the nominative absolute, partly because it could hardly be added grammatically, and partly in order to bring out the thought expressed by it with emphatic independence. Whether χάρις καὶ ἀλήθεια refers to Ex. xxxiv. 6 f. or not (Hengstenberg), is doubtful. At any rate, something different and something further is said here than there by grace (pity) and faithfulness, with which attributes God's glory there presents itself. There, they are attributes according to which Jehovah reveals himself. Here, they are the essential good things which are contained in Christ. The relation of ἀλήθεια and χάρις is in any case quite parallel. The first does not express a manner, or way, or disposition, or the like, and the last the thing; nor is the reverse true. Rather both are names of things, of good things, not as existing for themselves, but as imparting themselves. Christ is designated as full of grace, in so far as the essential good of salvation in relation to our need is contained in him. And he is named as full of truth, in so far as the essential nature belonging to salvation, the type of the right being, is given in him, in relation to our opposite way of being. From this can be seen how the idea of the χάρις fits that of the ζωή ('life'), and that of the ἀλήθεια that of the φῶς ('light'), so that in πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας we have an exhibition of the δόξα ('glory') of the Son of God.

Thus ver. 14 contains nothing different from the first verses, only that it is more subjectively conceived, and put in closer relation to the direct experience. For in ζωή and φῶς the standpoint from which the thing is so named is taken

[1] See above, p. 54 f.

from God. In χάριτ καὶ ἀλήθεια it is taken from man and earthly being. It is, however, agreed that ver. 14 states the contents of the gospel. Therefore we see how the whole opening keeps itself entirely within the limits of the gospel proclamation of Jesus Christ the Son of God. That this glory had appeared in the flesh, and must be looked upon, shows that it needed belief to see the Son of God in Jesus, but also that belief could see even in the incarnate one the fulness of divine glory. Θεᾶσθαι betokens a gazing, in which belief dwells in the senses. And then it is this belief which beholds what is essential in that which is perceived by the senses. Only such a vision can be spoken of in 1 John iv. 14, when the apostle says, that they had seen that the Father had sent the Son as the Saviour of the world.

Such is the close connection kept between this whole opening and the fundamental thought of the book. Everything here treats only of the Son of God, who has appeared to view. And the fulness of grace and truth has been seen and experienced only in him, as, too, the consciousness of the New Testament salvation cannot separate itself from him who has thus appeared. If we consider this, we shall be able to see how far Baur has wandered from the truth. He declares that, according to this representation, the sonship of God, which is the essence of the New Testament salvation, is not founded in the incarnation, but exists aside from that; and in consequence, that the incarnation is not something essential, but that it merely raises to a higher degree the relation which already existed in its full reality. This is so far from the truth, that the very opposite is correct. The evangelist knows only in the incarnate one the place and the source of the New Testament salvation.

Verse 15.

Therefore this salvation has appeared in Jesus Christ, and the Baptist has witnessed to him as the Son of God, and hence as the bearer of such salvation. This is contained in ver. 15, the second sentence of the third circle. Three things are said in it: that the Baptist witnessed to the one who had come; that he witnessed to him as the Son of God; and that he witnessed to him as the bearer of such salvation. As to

the first, the difference between it and the first mention of the Baptist, as of the one who should make belief possible by his preaching and directing, is perfectly evident.[1] The emphatic testimony[2] to him who has come forth is here raised to view. Therefore it reads *οὗτος ἦν*, namely: He whom ye saw, who has come forth in Israel, and the like. And by the *ὃν εἶπον* ('of whom I spake') added, which the Sinaitic manuscript is probably wrong in omitting, the Baptist recalls his earlier testimony. But we remember that the Baptist said that he was divinely sent. Therefore, belief on Jesus the Son of God is divinely called for and divinely founded.

This, namely, is the contents of the testimony in the second place: *ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν, ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν* ('He that cometh after me is preferred before me: for he was before me'). The Sinaitic manuscript thrusts a *ὅς* in before *ἔμπροσθεν*, giving the sense: 'this was the one coming after me, which was before me (or: has come before me), because he,' etc. In that case, we should have to add something to the *οὗτος*: 'He whom you have seen, or of whom I have spoken.' This would make the whole a reference back to Jesus, to an appearance of his, or to a testimony of the Baptist's to him, and so it would be like ver. 29 f. But this passage is changed just to suit that, and so the common reading is to be preferred. The explanations of the sense of the words differ widely, according as they understand the words to refer to time, or to position and importance, or to both. Luther understood it exclusively of time, following Origen, and translated: 'After me will come the one who was before me: for He was before me.' So say Meyer, Brückner, Hengstenberg, and Godet. Lücke, Tholuck, De Wette, and others understand the second clause to mean rank, and the third to refer to time. Others, as Chrysostom, Calvin, and Bäumlein, reverse this, and take the second clause to mean time, and the third rank. Hofmann, on the other hand, refers the whole discourse to position.

[1] See Baumgarten-Crusius, *Theologische Auslegung der Johanneischen Schriften*, Jena 1843, vol. i. p. 30.

[2] Hence *κέκραγε* ('cried'), 'cum fiducia et gaudio, uti magnum præconem decet' ('with the confidence and joy becoming in a great herald'), Bengel; and with solemn ceremoniousness; see above, p. 30.

Both the first expressions sound like space: he who comes in behind me has come before me; but the designation of space is the biblical expression for thought. Jesus comes in behind the Baptist, in so far as He appeared after him. Hence the Baptist seems to be the greater, and Jesus to be the one dependent on him, standing in the relation of disciple to him. Thus subordination plainly lies in the 'after.' But: He has gotten ahead of me. This is the way the words are to be taken. It is not: 'He was before me,' for γέγονεν cannot stand for ἦν. Nor is it: 'He preceded me,' namely, as antemundane Logos (Meyer); for that would be only another term for the imperfect ἦν, while γέγονεν betokens a fact in its continuing working. Therefore it must be understood, not temporally, but of rank, as most commentators do take it. In contrast to John, who only baptizes with water, He has become the one who baptizes with the Holy Ghost. The fact which the Baptist has in mind is the baptism of Jesus, with which He has entered into his calling, which lifts Him high above the Baptist. This is supported by ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν: 'a first in comparison with me,' so that πρῶτος is meant comparatively in the sense of πρότερος. By the majority of scholars this is understood temporally, and therefore in the sense of pre-existence, a knowledge of which would then be here attributed by the evangelist to the Baptist. To explain it, they would have to recur to the prophetic illumination of the Baptist. That the evangelist attributed his own knowledge to the Baptist (Strauss, Weisse, De Wette, and others), is contradicted by the fixed form of this testimony. As Godet thinks, the Baptist would not have drawn these words from Mal. iii. 1, because they contain more than the Old Testament grade of knowledge, and more than the Jewish theology of that day. Yet, according to the New Testament representation, the Baptist has, indeed, the prophetically-wrought knowledge of the Messiahship of Jesus, though the secret of his existence was only revealed gradually by the self-witness of Jesus. We avoid these difficulties of the temporal way of taking it, if we understand this third saying also of rank. Meyer, Godet, and others object to this, that then ἐστίν must have stood here instead of the imperfect ἦν. But the evangelist speaks relatively: 'He has gotten ahead of

me in his calling, for he was from the first higher than I as to his person.' This is the difference between the two sentences, that the first speaks of the calling; the second, of the person; the former, of the Messiahship; the latter, of the divine Sonship of Jesus. He has (by the baptism) entered on his Messianic calling, and has thus become my master; for, according to his person, he was higher as regards me, because he was the Son of God in the highest sense.[1] Whence had the Baptist this knowledge? It was certainly a prophetic knowledge; and yet it was not for that reason arbitrary, but both possible to the Baptist and suited to the circumstances. It grew up for him, according to revelation, not from single passages of the Old Testament, as we saw, nor from the Messianic doctrine of the better educated of that day, but from the position of Jesus towards men, and from the relation of the Spirit to Jesus. Therefore the Baptist testifies to Jesus as the Son of God, so that they may believe on him as such. If, however, He be this, He is of course the bearer of the divine salvation, which is placed in prospect in the Old Testament, and which is demanded by human need. He will bring the fulness of the blessing of the divine salvation and the right character for salvation.

VERSES 16–18.

This, then, the evangelist, in the third paragraph, vers. 16–18, brings up emphatically as the testimony of his own experience, and thereby confirms the testimony of the Baptist. Hence it is that ver. 16 joins on with ὅτι ('because'). Because he is the Son of God, he has also borne the fulness of the divine blessing in his person. The πλήρωμα ('fulness') is matched by the ἡμεῖς πάντες: *we all*, who have beheld and experienced him, so inexhaustible was the fulness of the salvation decreed in him. The following expressions are chosen from this experience: ἐλάβομεν, absolute, *we have received*; καί, *and indeed*. This καί thrust in lays still more stress on the object. It will not surprise us to see that the evangelist does not speak first of the divine salvation which imparts itself; yet, nevertheless, this is the thing lying nearest

[1] See Hofmann, *Der Schriftbeweis*, 2d ed., Nördlingen 1859, vol. ii. 1, pp. 10-12.

to him. The use of *ἀντί* ('instead of') expresses how infinitely rich the fulness thereof is. We here have described, not different sorts of *χάρις* ('grace'), as New and Old Testament graces, opposed to each other by *ἀντί* ('against') (Chrysostom, *et al.*), but one and the same grace in its succession (*ἀντί*)—that is, in its constantly renewed impartation.[1] This is agreed to by most of the later writers.

Verse 17.

It has especially been remarked that the seventeenth verse presents the *νόμος* ('law') in contrast to *χάρις*, and therefore it cannot just before be named as such. Should it, however, be stated more exactly what the fulness of the divine salvation is which appeared in Christ, then it is called, as above, *χάρις* and *ἀλήθεια* ('truth'). The contrast[2] with the *νόμος* shows how thoroughly the salvation appears to the evangelist to be given only in the person of Christ, and how wrong they are who declare His historical appearance not to be essential in the evangelist's view. For this salvation is by no means given in the Old Testament *νόμος*, and much less outside of Israel. Nevertheless, this does not make Christianity stand in such contrariety to Judaism as the school of Baur found it to be in the fourth gospel. The first question is, in order to understand the contrast, in what words the contrast lies. Before this, it was said that we have drawn fulness of grace from the fulness of Christ. 'For,' so it goes on, 'it is grace and truth that we have received in Christ, while before it was the law that was given through Moses.' Grace and truth, as a divine gift through Christ, are contrasted with the law as a divine demand through Moses. The *διά* ('by') shows us that the law is meant as a divine demand. On the other hand, however, we gladly agree with Baumgarten-Crusius, that *ἐγένετο* means not merely 'fell to our lot,' but 'became, first appeared.' Yet the subjective relation, peculiar to the whole third circle, is not to be forgotten. And if grace and truth have now for the first come forward to full historical reality,—for this is

[1] Bengel, *Gnomon*, 3d ed., Tübingen 1773, vol. i. p. 375: 'Proximam quamque gratiam satis quidem magnam gratia subsequens cumulo et plenitudine sua quasi obruit.'

[2] Asyndetical, see above, p. 43.

what ἐγένετο, as distinguished from ἐδόθη ('was given'), is meant to emphasize,—that does not hinder them from being able to have a previous history.

What is intended by this contrast? Lücke is not quite right about it.[1] He thinks that the contrast of the law and gospel from the standpoint of the prologue is here peculiarly confirmed by the absolute pre-eminence in being of the only-begotten Son of God over Moses and every one else, while Paul is accustomed rather to lay stress on the ethical contents of the contrast. How can Moses and Jesus Christ be put in contrast with each other, since neither an ἄνθρωπος ('man') or the like, as say in ver. 6, is added to the former, nor ὁ λόγος ('the Word'), as Lücke takes it, or ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ or the like, is added to the latter? The contrast lies rather in the two subjects (νόμος, 'law,' and χάρις, 'grace,' etc.) of the sentence, and is plain enough. There, is a demand of a deed; here, is the gift of salvation. There, we have a representation of the right character for salvation in the demand; here, we have, in and with the gift of grace, the realization of that character imparting itself to us. Hence there is no intention to emphasize the incompleteness of the revelation by Moses (Lücke), or the partial incorrectness of the pre-Christian knowledge of God (De Wette). Another form of the revelation is presented. This, however, is not to be taken so subjectively as that we could say with Baumgarten-Crusius,[2] that the first is named as an institution which cuts us off from God, and the second as that wherein 'both disposition and mind feel themselves again near the Godhead.' Feelings are not in point, but objective facts of God. It is true that He also spoke a word to Israel by Moses, but it contained a demand for human work, and was, because never wrought out, a constant witness against man and his character. Now, however, He has spoken his word to us in Jesus. Therein he has imparted himself to us in his essence, in so far as he is *for us*—that is, in grace and truth. These two cannot be directly distinguished from each other, because the difference is specific.

[1] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. p. 358.

[2] Baumgarten-Crusius, *Theologische Auslegung der Johanneischen Schriften*, Jena 1843, p. 36.

As long as they are disciples of Moses, they stand under the law; when they become disciples of Christ, they have grace and truth. As long as they are the former, they know simply of a never filled demand; in the latter, they receive the fulness of the free grace of God. There, they have only need; here, the fullest satisfaction. And herewith, then, are the two, the law and the grace, brought at once into union with each other. We have found the fulness of grace in Christ. For before that we were under the law, which works need. The satisfaction demanded by it has become historical in Jesus. That is the negative connection of the Old Testament *νόμοσ* with New Testament grace. This holds especially against Köstlin's misleading representation.[1] With this there exists still another positive connection, which is spoken of not here, but elsewhere—namely, that to the degree that Christ is contained in the Old Testament, to that degree also the New Testament grace is contained therein.

Verse 18.

The eighteenth verse gives the reason why this appeared just in Christ. For it is true of no other,[2] that he has stood in full communion with God. Only Christ the Son of God came into the world from such communion. Only he, therefore, could bring to us the essential contents of God, in so far as he is for us. Hence, what Lücke presupposes for ver. 17 belongs only to ver. 18. I say: Christ has brought the essential contents of God in so far as he is for us; and therefore grace and truth. For it seems to be an error, widely spread as it is, to make ver. 18 treat only of *ἀλήθεια* ('truth'), as Baumgarten-Crusius especially does. For Jesus' word not only instructs. It imparts its contents; it transfers into communion with God and Jesus himself, and so with life no less than light. This, however, attaches to Jesus' word by reason of the peculiarity of his person: *ὁ μονογενὴσ υἱὸσ ὁ ὢν εἰσ κτλ.* ('the only-begotten Son, which is in,' etc.). The Vatican manuscript reads: (without ὁ) *μονογενὴσ θεὸσ ὁ ὢν εἰσ κτλ.* ('only-begotten God,' etc.). The Sinaitic reads so too, only

[1] Köstlin, *Lehrbegriff des Evangeliums und der Briefe des Johannis*, Berlin 1843, p. 135 f.

[2] The asyndeton serves this excluding or contrasted point; see above, p. 43.

leaving out ὁ ὤν. The last is entirely impossible; the first is a doctrinal change occasioned by ver. 1, against all biblical, and especially Johannean, use of language. It is a peculiarity of the only-begotten Son that he has seen the Father, for he came from the Father. This is now certain to us by his going back to the Father.[1] In this sense also, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρός ('which is in the bosom of the Father') is thrust in between. We cannot take ὁ ὤν as an imperfect, as I did before;[2] it would have to read ὃς ἦν. Yet it is not tenseless, as most take it. It stands among historical surroundings, and therefore must probably be meant in the exact sense as a present. The tenseless way of taking it would rob εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρός of all its definiteness, and generalize it to an indefinite sense. For the expression is too select to designate only Christ's communion with God in general. The expression betokens not merely personal communion, or table-communion, as many say (which, besides, would not fit here), or a resting upon (Lücke, Tholuck, Godet), but the loving communion of the embrace (Meyer). He who was πρὸς τὸν θεόν ('with God') has, after being a stranger upon earth, gone back to his Father's house, to his Father's heart, to His bosom. Words of Christ, like xvi. 28, are here repeated by the evangelist with this expression of feeling. This one, therefore, ἐκεῖνος, with emphasis after John's manner, the only-begotten Son, He has proclaimed to us God, whom He has beheld: ἐξηγήσατο ('declared'), used of the interpreter of divine things and revelations, and hence here chosen by the evangelist with special design (Meyer). See xvii. 6: ἐφανέρωσά σου τὸ ὄνομα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ('I have manifested thy name unto the men'). The evangelist, recalling Christ's being with God, has returned to the beginning.

He had begun three times, always speaking of the historical person of Jesus Christ in its essential significance. First, his account was quite general, and in the most general contrasts, starting with the wail that the world rejected him. Then it passed over into the more decided historical manner of his appearance in the world, in Israel, with the result that He nevertheless gathered a circle of believers about Himself,

[1] Hofmann, *Der Schriftbeweis*, 2d ed., Nördlingen 1857, vol. i. p. 120.

[2] So did Gess, too, in his *Lehre von der Person Christi*, Basel 1856, p. 123.

which then formed the church of God's children. Finally, it describes in triumphant words the whole intimacy of the communion with us into which Christ has entered, as well as the whole blessedness of the experience which his disciples had of him. Thus it brings to light and proves in his person the great and the new things which we owe to the salvation in Christ, distinguished from the preceding stage of revelation. Thus salvation in Christ is here presented in a foundation-laying summary. It is not ideas, speculations, metaphysics, and the like, but the historical salvation. Yet it is history, not in its outward appearance, but from the side of its essential contents, its essential significance; in short, the soul that lives in the body of the history. This, then, will also be the manner of the succeeding historical writing.

If we have herewith understood this section of the gospel rightly in essentials, and if we have not been false to the fundamental thought in the presentation of its execution, it will not be necessary for us to enlarge further 'on the essential doctrinal contents of the prologue.' It has expressed itself directly to us in simple form. It will be no small gain that thereby many of the questions raised in relation to this have become superfluous. For example, Baumgarten-Crusius urges[1] that all depends less on whether the Logos is to be thought of as personal, than whether the *whole* Logos have passed over into the man Jesus. That has become for us an utterly impossible position for a question. Nor can we even make the question Lücke treats our own.[2] To him the task of the prologue is to make conceivable the oneness of the premundane, eternal personality, and of the historical personality—that is, the personal pre-existence of Christ in the form of the Alexandrian Logos doctrine. Then he asks how John has solved this task. If we let the Alexandrian Logos doctrine alone, we can find nothing of such a task which the evangelist had set for himself. It is true that he expresses Christ's personal pre-existence on the ground of the self-witness of Christ. Yet it is not exactly to teach this, but

[1] Baumgarten-Crusius, *Theologische Auslegung der Johanneischen Schriften*, Jena 1843, p. 39, note.

[2] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. p. 265 ff.

only to teach what the history has to do with Christ, namely, that he is come from God, in the most exact sense. Least of all has he troubled himself anywhere to make the pre-existence conceivable. He has declared it, and that is all. See how little he says of it! How much longer he dwells on the incarnate one! And what a marvel it is that the latter and not the former makes the real contents of his gospel, and that he only uses that as an antecedent to the first gospel proclamation of the incarnate one! The former, the pre-existence, he is satisfied with naming. How that is to be thought,—namely, that Christ stood in communion and conversation with God, that he was God with God,—upon this he enlarges with no word. To attend to this was the task of theology. In this Baumgarten-Crusius agrees with Lücke, that John thought of the Logos rather as spiritual power than as personality. Lücke, however, explains his opinion more clearly and more comprehensively, but in a way which seems to me to go straight against the sense of the evangelist and the expressions of Jesus himself. The same holds good against the modern reviving and developing of Lücke's thoughts. For it is a '*quid pro quo*' ('equivalent thing'), when Lücke, instead of the being with God, puts: 'Christ knew himself as the possessor of the eternal revealing-power of God;'[1] and then calls this the tracing back Jesus' sayings to their Old Testament base. According to this, therefore, he who spoke in viii. 58 would not have been the thing pre-existing; it was only the divine power which was in him. Jesus and the evangelist, however, say the opposite. And it is the duty of exegesis not to twist the words to the sense that seems most comprehensible and agreeable to us, but to leave them as they read and as they speak. If the exegete cannot agree with it, he must not apply an operation by which he imputes his sense to them, and then call this a prudent distinction of the essential contents of the thoughts from the temporal form of the presentation.[2] Where is the rule for this distinction? When Jesus says: *πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γένεσθαι, ἐγὼ εἰμί*, there can be no talk about another under-

[1] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840 vol. i. p. 378.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 371.

standing of the words of Jesus, which perhaps the evangelist lent them, because the words here are too simple, and 'we are not authorized to suppose that Jesus said essentially something different from what John reports.'[1] Therefore we must not twist the words, as if Jesus had said: Indeed, it was not exactly I that was present before, but the power of God which is in me; and in this I feel myself eternal. Nothing is better settled than this, that in John's gospel Christ speaks of himself, and the evangelist likewise speaks of him quite directly, and without reference to any Alexandrian theology, that he was a person, and was *πρὸσ τὸν θεόν* ('with God'), and was *θεόσ* ('God') before he became man. Now, indeed, he has become man, so that he knows and feels himself to be man. But this is just the peculiarity of this man Jesus Christ, that he knew himself at the same time to be God with God; and further, that he, because he from God became man, bore in himself, in the man, for the others, the fulness of God, in so far as He is for men, and therefore the fulness of the divine salvation.

The account of the witness of the Baptist follows directly on the opening; and this, again, passes over unnoticed into the account of the first appearance of Jesus. Both passages are connected, as the numbering of the days also shows.

I. 19–II. 11. The Introduction of Jesus to the World.

Twice three days are here brought before us. In the first three the Baptist's witness is reported, which introduces Jesus to Israel. In the others we see Jesus introduce himself to the world, and to the heart of men, first in the narrowest circle of his disciples, who are to form the foundation of his divine church in the world.

I. 19–40. *The Testimony of the Baptist.*

This section reaches to ver. 40, and not, as De Wette, Lücke, and Baumgarten-Crusius would have it, to ver. 34. Baur urged rightly that the third testimony in ver. 35 has a

[1] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. p. 377.

meaning which goes far beyond the second; because, as he expresses it, the Messiah is introduced to the consciousness of the world, so that he may become an object of belief to it. Yet, for that very reason, the break is to be made, not at ver. 36, as Baur makes it, or at ver. 37, as Godet makes it, but only at ver. 40. The fact that the disciples of John followed Jesus at the testimony of the Baptist, belongs essentially to that third testimony, and gives it its peculiarity.

But why does the witness of the Baptist begin the gospel history? That is the way to put the question, instead of talking, as Baur does, of an 'emphatic stress laid on the Baptist.'[1] He is not made more emphatically prominent here than in Mark (who also begins at once with him), or in the others. The other question of Baur's, why he should, moreover, be brought in here with the Logos, has become superfluous for us. The introduction of the Baptist has no essentially different aim from that which it has in the synoptists. We have found the same design therein from the very opening, —namely, that it is to be shown how the belief on Jesus as the Son of God is divinely demanded and founded. As such a one, and on that behalf, the Baptist testifies to him here. There is no question at all here of a mediating of the contrast between light and darkness.[2] The point is the right personal behaviour to Christ, to the personal Word, to the Son of God; which right behaviour is, on the one hand, demanded by the testimony of the Baptist; and, on the other side, made possible by it. The threefold character of the testimony does not depend upon the three essential moments which, perhaps, constitute the idea of the testimony, but upon the necessary historical progress. Jesus, having already entered into his calling, is to come, comes, and the first disciples come to him. The testimony has three stages to suit this.

Baur certainly looked at this aright. The Baptist, in and for himself, is nothing; his testimony is everything. His importance consists exclusively in his testimony to Him who is to come. This appears at once in the *first testimony.*

[1] Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 99.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 101.

VERSES 19–28.

VERSE 19.

Such is the answer he gives to the messengers of the Sanhedrim. The whole proceeding shows that we have to do with a deputation from the Sanhedrim. It is at sight an official delegation, see ver. 22; and with this agrees the fact that the Jews *sent priests and Levites*. The priests probably belonged to the Sanhedrim, and the Levites were their attendants. A pseudo-John would have spoken of scribes and elders, after the synoptic fashion. It is impossible to see why this deputation cannot have been a fact. The son of Zachariah came forth in Israel with the claim to be a prophet of God, and with the proclamation of the near fulfilment of the divine promise given in the Old Testament; and by a baptism unto the nearness of the kingdom of heaven, he prepared the gathering the church for it. At this, why should not the spiritual authority of Israel have seen itself constrained to ask him for the grounds, contents, and proof of his appearance and action? Or is it uncertain because it reads *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι* ('the Jews'), and thus shows the hesitating, unhistorical conception of the author? But when the Sanhedrim sends to the Baptist, it does so because it has to represent the people, and because John had come forth with a demand and proclamation which was meant for Israel as an entire nation. Thus the Sanhedrim meets him in the name of the people, and as its representative. Hence, too, even in this first meeting, the general relation between Jesus and Israel, as it afterwards came out ever more decidedly, begins to form itself and mirror itself, though still quite rudimentally and dimly. For this reason, therefore, it says: *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι* in ver. 19.[1] It must certainly lie in the interest of the evangelist to put at the head of his gospel history such a testimony of the Baptist's before such representatives.[2] And that is just the reason he picked this out from the many testimonies given by the Baptist. To suppose that he made it up, is therefore a

[1] See above, p. 115 ff.

[2] Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 103.

highly superfluous thought; since there is here not simply a literary but also a historical necessity.

Σὺ τίς εἶ; ('Who art thou?') The question touches the person of the Baptist; hence the preceding σύ. To them, only the uncommonness of his person seemed to justify the uncommonness of his deeds. The evangelist gives the emphatic answer in ver. 20.

Verse 20.

That is the effect of the double expression, first positive and then negative, ὡμολόγησεν καὶ οὐκ ἠρνήσατο ('he confessed, and denied not'),[1] and then ὡμολόγησεν ('he confessed') follows with renewed emphasis. The Baptist's answer shows that the delegates asked him with regard to his being the Messiah; whether they spoke it out decidedly, which is not likely, or whether they discernibly had it in mind. That agrees with Luke iii. 15. There it says that the people took him to be the Christ. Therefore the authorities had the more need for a delegation and inquiry. And it was thus so much the easier for the question to go first to that point. It is, however, worthy of remark that the Jews do not ask him what his divine commission is, or the like, but who he is. The first thing of all for them is the person. The Jewish mind characterizes itself therein. Their first thought is, whether or not they have in him the Messiah who is to restore the glory of Israel.

Verse 21.

The second thought is, whether or not he be Elias raised again. The fact that they really mean this, as we see by the Baptist's denial, shows that the first point for them is, not a calling corresponding to Elias, and therefore not an Elias in so far as he had to proclaim such a will of God with regard to Israel, but Elias as a wonderful personality. Hence the Baptist denies this question too. He is the Elias of Malachi, but not Elias in their sense. Now they have nothing left but *the prophet*.[2] In the Old Testament there is manifold

[1] See above, p. 44 f.

[2] On these Jewish expectations in general, see Schürer, *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte*, Leipzig 1874, p. 580 f.

mention of the prophet of God in connection with the Messianic time. The well-known prophecy in Deut. xviii. 15 is commonly recalled. Still other statements of the Old Testament may be named. In vii. 40 we have again a mention of the prophet, as distinguished from Christ. There is no Scripture foundation for thinking of Jeremiah, as many have done; see Matt. xvi. 14. Hofmann[1] recalls the messenger of Jehovah in Mal. iii. 1. But this one is not sufficiently designated as a prophet for us to dare to suppose a reference to him in the question in hand. As little can it refer, as Hofmann[2] reminds us, to the 'prophet in whom all the prophetic activity of the old covenant was to find its close and its fulfilment,' as he appears especially in the second part of Isaiah. For the Jewish opinions fastened rather upon single words in the Old Testament than on greater Scripture conceptions.

The Baptist's denials had become ever shorter and sharper.

Verse 22.

The Jews had exhausted all the wonderful personalities they could think of, who were to appear as adjuncts of the Messianic time. But, in ver. 22, he must still be something, and they must take some answer or other to those who had sent them.

Verse 23.

Now the Baptist answers positively, but pointing away from his person, about which they had asked, to his calling: '*I am a voice*,' etc., in the well-known words with which the so-called second part of Isaiah begins its great proclamation of salvation. In the Hebrew, the words 'in the wilderness' belong to what follows. The wilderness which lies between Babylon and Canaan shall cease to be a hindrance to Jehovah's carrying the people back. But the return is only a picture of the real restoration of Israel to be the people and kingdom of God. The hindrance which lies between this future of Israel and its present is its sin. Therefore the right preparation is the putting aside of this division-wall. Thus the 'in the

[1] Hofmann, *Weissagung und Erfüllung im Alten und im Neuen Testament*, Nördlingen 1844, vol. ii. p. 68; compare, 1841, vol. i. p. 360.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 69.

wilderness' frees itself from the preparation of the way, and joins what precedes. The Baptist appeared in the desert and made his proclamation to Israel, so as to point by this fulfilment of the letter to the fulfilling of the thing which his call, that is, his testimony, serves. This testimony is everything; his person is nothing. But his testimony is in itself double; for it directs itself to men, and it treats of the greater one after him. In so far as it is directed to men, it demands belief in the salvation of Israel in general, and in its nearness in particular, and it prepares belief on the very one who is coming. Thus it had an essential reference to belief. In so far as it testified of the greater one, it prepared for his self-revelation, and so served this revelation, and had therein its confirmation and authority. This last comes out in the answer which the Baptist gave the Pharisees to their question about the authority of his baptism.

Verse 24.

The delegates are named as Pharisees. Even though the article *οἱ* before *ἀπεσταλμένοι* ('sent') is to be struck out, according to the best manuscripts, it will nevertheless mean not that only a part of the deputation, but that all the delegates, were Pharisees. The former would be more plainly expressed, perhaps, by *τινές* ('some') or the like. Still less naturally can it be said that the want of the article indicates a second delegation (against Baumgarten-Crusius). But: *they were sent* by the high council indeed, yet *from the midst of the Pharisees.* That is easily conceivable, since they treated of a question concerning the lawfulness according to the law. The evangelist, however, does not add this remark as a supplement to explain the hostility of the question (Lücke, *et al.*). It only serves as a base for the following question. The Pharisees held strictly to the letter of the law; and what the Baptist did was not in agreement with that. Thus is explained, too, why Pharisees ask for the justification of the ceremony brought in by the Baptist, for which ceremony the latter could not appeal directly to the law; see Bengel.

Verse 25.

Here, again, it is characteristic that they ask for a justifica-

tion on the ground of a peculiarity in his person; that they will only let the former be based on the latter.

Verse 26.

John, however, refers them again from his person to his calling, or rather here to his position. His right and his calling so to act lie in the one who is coming after him. Thus we see how thoroughly the Baptist will be nothing for himself, and only be taken as a preparation for, and foregoing witness to, Christ. As vers. 7 and 8 designate his significance: he is merely testimony, and serves as such only for Christ; and here he describes himself in the same way. It is true that, in ver. 26, he does not connect himself in a direct and outspoken way in this sense with the one coming after him. But the very fact that he proclaims Him, in reply to that question of ver. 25, expresses this connection. His characterizing his baptism as a water baptism, is said with reference to the spiritual baptism of the Messiah. In this he refers to the preceding *εἰ σὺ οὐκ εἶ ὁ Χριστός* ('if thou be not that Christ'). By the water baptism he reminds them of the calling of the forerunner, and so answers the preceding *οὐδὲ* (we must read thus, and not *οὔτε . . . οὔτε*) *Ἠλίας οὐδὲ ὁ προφήτης* ('nor Elias, neither that prophet') (Meyer). Hence it is not necessary to think of a shortening of the answer, or to find in this an incidental explanation about the nearness of the Lord; and herein see the wonderful peculiarity of our author, that he does not make question and answer always correspond directly; De Wette. The way the Baptist designates his relation to the Messiah shows pretty clearly the contrast which he describes in iii. 31 by *ἐκ τῆς γῆς* and *ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* ('of the earth,' and 'from heaven'). His action is the more justified and the more necessary, since the promised one already stands among them, but unknown to them.[1] *Ὑμεῖς*, with emphasis: *you*, indeed, people like you, *know him not.*

Verse 27.

Ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ἄξιος ἵνα λύσω

[1] If δέ after *μέσος* is, with B C L and Origen, to be struck out, the discourse becomes so much the sharper and more emphatic by the asyndeton. See above, p. 43.

αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματος ('The one coming after me, whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose') is, according to the above-named manuscripts, to be read with the omission of αὐτός ἐστιν ('he it is') at the beginning, and of ὃς ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν ('who was before me') in the middle. The last was only transferred from vers. 15 and 30, and then αὐτός ἐστιν was added to make an independent sentence out of it. The one coming after him is the higher one, because he is the Messiah; see ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν. The figure chosen expresses the great difference between the two: *I*, with emphasis, in contrast with Him, *am not worthy* (ἵνα, according to the weakened use of later Greek, against Meyer's retention of the pure telic force) to do him the least service.

VERSE 28.

This took place, adds the evangelist, *in Bethany beyond Jordan, where John stayed baptizing.* Origen found on the spot only a Bethabara, and put this in the stead of Bethany; but that is arbitrary. They ought long ago to have given up the reproach, that the evangelist means the Bethany on the Mount of Olives, and so shows great ignorance of geography (so Schenkel and Weizsäcker still), since he, indeed, expressly distinguishes the two places.[1] This holds good, likewise, against Baur's arbitrary assumption, that the evangelist designedly wished to bring the opening of the gospel history locally in union with the close thereof. Even Keim[2] has owned the evangelist's knowledge of places. The addition, which serves to distinguish it from the Bethany near Jerusalem, has not this distinction as its real aim. It stands in connection with the quotation from Isaiah ('in the wilderness'), and with the mention of John's work of baptism. They had to go thither to him, for there the Baptist stayed. This lies in the union of ἦν with βαπτίζων ('was' with 'baptizing'), which is not simply a paraphrase for the finite verb.[3]

The Baptist speaks of the Messiah as of one present, and known to him. Hence the testimony comes after the baptism

[1] See above, p. 74 f.

[2] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 133.

[3] See above, p. 32 f.

of Jesus (see Godet, against Olshausen). For it was only in the baptism that Jesus became the Messiah, and became known to the Baptist as the one whom he here intends to represent, and as he whom he did not know as such before the baptism, ver. 33. Hence we do not need to assume a contradiction with Luke iii. 16, as De Wette does. There, all the preaching of the Baptist is gathered in one, and therefore his testimony about Jesus is also presupposed, as well as his history. Yes; there, too, his imprisonment is put before the baptism of Jesus.

Verses 29–34.

But, according to Baur and Keim, the Baptist, in ver. 33, does not speak at all about the baptism of Jesus; on the contrary, he excludes it.[1] Therefore let us look at the *second testimony*, in vers. 29–34. The difference of this testimony from the other is determined not by the baptism which has intervened and the disclosure made therewith, but by the personal presence of Christ, and so by the difference of the situation. If it be permitted to combine John's account with that of the synoptists, Jesus must now be thought of as returning from the temptation.[2]

Verse 29.

The Baptist now greets Him with the words directed to his disciples, and pointing him out (ἴδε, 'behold'): *The Lamb of God!* The article designates it as exactly the right one, as the realization of a type. This phrase is commonly referred to the figure used in Isa. liii. (De Wette, Lücke, Baumgarten-Crusius, Meyer, Godet). The curt definiteness of the expression makes it much easier to think of a historical lamb, as Lampe does—that is, of the passover lamb (thus Luther, Bengel, Olshausen, Hofmann, Hengstenberg). The genitive, τοῦ θεοῦ ('of God'), suits this best. This genitive may be taken as the genitive of property: that which belongs to God

[1] Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 106 ff.; and Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 125: against whom we have even Holtzmann, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1872, p. 156 f.

[2] See Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. p. 400.

(Meyer), or in the sense: given of God (Hofmann). In either case it does not suit a reference to a mere comparison, 'like a lamb,' such comparison as we find in Isaiah, but it does suit as the antitype of the passover sacrifice. Then, however, the genitive is to be understood in the second sense: given of God and appointed to salvation. The sense: well-pleasing to God, suited to God, and the like, would be a weakening the expression, and would say too little for this sacrificial lamb. De Wette and Lücke[1] were right in rejecting the thought as to the further use of the sacrificial lamb as not important enough. But then it is said that all outward occasion for that comparison is wanting; that the comparison was only called forth by the fact that Jesus died at a passover (Lücke, Meyer); and that the union of *αἴρειν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου* ('to take away the sins of the world') with the passover would not be allowable (De Wette). To the first, we might reply that the passover was close at hand; see ii. 13. And then why should a further external occasion be necessary in order to designate Jesus as the passover lamb, when we have that patient lamb of Isaiah? To the second, it must be answered that that coincidence of the death of Jesus with the passover would not have taken place if there had been no internal relation between the two. If this were the case, why could it not have been clear to the last of the prophets? To the third, we may reply by recalling the difference between the fulfilment which is for the world and the prophetic representation which moves within the limits of Israel. The Baptist knew that this man was from heaven; and he likewise knew that, although the fulfilment of the prophecy of Israel, he was given not for Israel alone, but for the world, and therefore was for the latter. If, then, he brings his appearance into relation with sin, he will have to speak of the sin of the world. Why, however, when he means to designate him as the fulfilment of the prophecy of Israel, does he name him directly as the fulfilment of the passover lamb? We know what a fundamental importance the deliverance of the people from Egypt had for the history of Israel, as well as for its knowledge of salvation, and for the whole prophetic representation of the future salvation. This fact stands so

[1] Lücke, *ut supra*, vol. i. p. 404.

alone, that only the day of the new salvation is to be compared with it; and the latter, again, has such a fitting type in no fact of Old Testament history as it has in the former. Now the Baptist knew that the time of the final closing salvation had dawned, and he knew that Jesus was the one bringing it. Why should he not, above all, compare this salvation and him who brought it, with that first typical redemption of Israel? There, however, that lamb was the means of sparing the nation. For its sake the destruction passed over the people. Thus, now, will Jesus be the means of sparing. If any one will permit Him to serve him thus, God's judgment will for His sake pass over him. Everything has now grown broader. Salvation, as well as judgment, attaches to the world.

This lamb takes on himself the sin of the world. So it does not say merely φέρειν: carry (thus Lücke, Tholuck, Baumgarten-Crusius, De Wette), but αἴρειν: to take upon oneself, and thus take away. See 1 John iii. 5. In all the other passages in the gospel it means take away or off, xi. 48, xv. 2, xvii. 15, xix. 31, 38. If he take the whole sin of the world on himself, of course he takes it away from those on whom it really rests. It lies in the nature of the case that he takes it upon himself as guilt. We are, however, to stop at guilt, and not substitute punishment 'after a well-known metonymy' (De Wette), or to think of sinfulness, since the question here is not as to the example or as to the spirit of morality and the like, but as to the atonement of sin, and therefore as to guilt. The sin is expressed in the singular as a whole, the entire sin and guilt of the world. In this sense, then, the Baptist names Jesus, God's lamb. It is a direct divinely-ordered mediation of salvation, as it is given in Jesus, who, for the sake of the salvation of men, trod the way of suffering. We may certainly doubt as to whether or not the Baptist thought of Christ's death (against Meyer). For the death of the Messiah was not only quite a foreign thought to the disciples, but also does not agree with the Baptist's manner of thinking, as it elsewhere meets us; see Matt. xi. 3. It is true that it is not enough, as I explained formerly, to think solely of the flesh of weakness and of capability to suffer; we should think of suffering in general. It stood in harmony with all Old Testament preparatory history, that the final

bearer of its authority had to suffer. This could be clear and known to the Baptist. Christ had trodden this way of suffering by entering on his calling and rejecting the temptation of the tempter. Hence, too, the present *αἴρων* ('taketh'). It does not indicate the enduring power of the atoning sacrifice (Hengstenberg), for it is the expression of a fact, and not an interpretation of something historical. Nor is it merely the making a future one present (as, for example, Meyer), for Jesus is now already the lamb of God, and is not only about to be it. Hence *ὁ αἴρων* ('which taketh') must also be understood of the present—that is, of the way of suffering upon which Jesus had already placed himself. It might be concealed from the Baptist how far his sufferings would go. The history of his sufferings afterwards brought a corresponding progress of knowledge. It is natural that the apostolic knowledge was much clearer than the Baptist's.

It has been asked how the knowledge which the Baptist expresses here agrees with the later question in Matt. xi. 3. And for this reason they have (Strauss, Bengel, Keim, and others, and even De Wette) denied the historical character of this saying put in the mouth of the Baptist, or they have looked upon it as a presentiment which arose in the Baptist, but which disappeared again in the prison (thus, too, Meyer). The former is arbitrary. The latter does not fit well with the character of the Baptist's knowledge as a revelation, and is, besides, unnecessary. He put that question to Him, not because he was at fault as to Jesus' Messiahship, but just because he believed in it; he could not understand the quiet course of Jesus, and the insignificance of his manifestation. He did not ask for the open battle that might then, perhaps, have led to the death of Jesus,[1] but for the setting up of the kingdom of God in glory. The death of Jesus would not agree with this, but a temporary increase of passionate persecution of Jesus would.

The explanation given brings the result, that we do not need to find in ver. 29 something essentially different from what is contained in the rest of the Baptist's testimony, as

[1] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. p. 416.

most exegetes do. This testimony coincides with the other, only as its other side. There he says: he of whom I testify, etc., stands far above me, etc.; and here he says: and this one is now ordained of God to be the means of the redemption of the world by the way of suffering. Thus he can easily pass from the last thought in ver. 29, to the next thought in ver. 30.

Verse 30.

This is he of whom I said that he is before me, because he was already in his person the higher one in comparison with me. This his testimony of Him rests on divine revelation, which was imparted to him in connection with the preparation for his calling. This is emphasized in the next verse.

Verse 31.

Κἀγώ, I too, like all others, did not know him of myself. There is scarcely any question that *οὐκ ἤδειν αὐτόν* ('I did not know him') is not to be taken absolutely, but in the relation which the context gives (against Lücke and Godet). For whether he knew him outwardly or not, had no significance for his testimony, but whether or not he knew him as the one whom he testified that he was. It is not simply whether or not he knew him clearly and certainly (Hengstenberg and others), but whether he knew him in general, namely, as the one to prepare for, and to preach whom he himself had come—that is, as the bringer of the final salvation. Matt. iii. 14 does not stand in contradiction to this declaration. Christ's coming to the baptism is the very beginning of the act of baptism, in connection with which that knowledge was given to the Baptist. Thus, that which came to him as a presentiment when Jesus approached, was divinely confirmed to him in the baptism itself. It is natural that he should now appeal to this divine confirmation.

As his whole calling stands in a serving relation to the revelation of Jesus, so does his work of baptism. Hence he proceeds: but that he should be made manifest to *Israel, therefore am I come baptizing with water.* Of course his baptism served first to prepare the people; but this stands in connection with the revelation of Christ himself. The aim is

in itself at once double and single. For he can, in divine commission, only point the people to Jesus as the Christ, when he himself has also divine certainty that Jesus is the Christ. In order that this should take place, *διὰ τοῦτο ἦλθον ἐγὼ ἐν ὕδατι βαπτίζων* ('therefore am I come baptizing with water'). Hence at this opportunity of the baptism Jesus must be divinely made known to him as the Son of God. It is undeniable that this mutual relation of the baptism and revelation of Jesus lies in the union of the two by *διὰ τοῦτο* ('therefore'). That shuts out Baur's and Keim's declaration, that the fourth evangelist knows nothing of a baptism of Jesus, and indeed, that from his whole view he could not possibly know anything of it. On the contrary, the very circumstantiality with which the Baptist here carries out his testimony, and the appeal to the revelation which was imparted to him in the baptism, shows what an importance that occurrence had for him, and so for the reporter of it. It is, of course, not hard to find the differences between this passage and the synoptic account. John, however, does not mean to relate the event itself. He reports the testimony of the Baptist, who only emphasizes the points which gave him the certainty to which he testifies. That Jesus saw the Spirit come down upon him, has nothing to do with this. But the Baptist must mention that he himself saw that descent. Nor does the heavenly voice do anything here directly. All depended on the relation of the Spirit of God to this man Jesus, and on the fact that in this relation beheld by him the sign was fulfilled which God had given him touching the Messiah who was to be preached. Thus he received a divine prophetic certainty. He speaks his testimony, and wishes it to be looked upon as thus certain. Therefore the different accounts are meant to be understood and compared from the different designs, and not held up to each other externally and straightway charged with contradiction.

VERSE 32.

But they thought they must find that the appearance here was more subjective than in the synoptists (for example, De Wette). But in Matthew, and Mark too, the account is kept subjective; while in Luke, it is true, it had more the shape of

an objective fact. But is it then, according to our evangelist, a mere inward appearance without a corresponding objective reality? The Baptist, in ver. 32, says: *I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode* (with designed resolution of the participle into the finite verb) *ἐπ' αὐτόν*, not equivalent to *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ*, but '*over him*,' so that it expresses the dwelling. Does the Baptist here compare the Spirit with a dove only because he chose this figure (thus De Wette and Baumgarten-Crusius), or because he perceived it in this form? The last, clearly. For he does not say: he came down or floated like a dove, but he saw him like a dove. Lücke opposes to this, that if the appearance of a dove had been objective, it could and must[1] have been seen by others also. This, however, rests on an error as to the whole kind of objectivity to which this fact belonged. Aside from the fact that we do not know at all whether or not others were then present, it is true of such events that they are solely perceived by those for whom they are meant. They do not therefore cease to be objective. There is a great difference between this and the ordinary sense-perceptibility. What takes place within presents itself outwardly to the opened eye. The Spirit comes down from heaven—that is, an influence passed from God to Jesus. It was not an influence starting from Jesus, not a mental excitement of Jesus' or the like, but an objective impartation of the Spirit of God to Jesus. But why did God's Spirit in this way show itself to the two, Jesus and the Baptist; and why was it beheld by them? The dove in the Scriptures is the figure of peaceable and pure simplicity; see Matt. x. 16. So here it serves to characterize the New Testament manner of the revelation of God in Jesus, perhaps in distinction from the fiery zeal of an Elijah; see Isa. xlii. 2 f.

If we have understood the testimony of the Baptist rightly, it contains nothing which goes essentially beyond the synoptic account, or which would be entirely irreconcilable with that account. The higher Messianic position of Jesus, which we have found in *ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν* ('he was before me'), is expressed by the Baptist in the synoptists, both by his refusal

[1] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. p. 424.

to baptize Jesus, and in his desire to be baptized by Him, that is, with the Messianic baptism, and in the words of his declaration: *αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί* ('He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire'), which characterize the calling of the Messiah. The higher dignity of His person, which lies in the *πρῶτός μου ἦν* ('he was before me'), is also there expressed in different words, yet close relation of thought, when he says, concerning his relation to Jesus: *ἰσχυρότερός μου ἐστίν, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς τὰ ὑποδήματα βαστάσαι* ('is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear'), or *οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ἄξιος, ἵνα λύσω αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματος* ('whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose').[1]

How related to the Idea of the Logos.

How is this event related to the so-called Logos idea? Baur declares that John must have ignored the act of baptism just, because, according to the synoptists, Jesus is only then supplied with the Spirit; while in John, on the contrary, Jesus is already in himself as the Logos all that he ought to be, and the Logos is identical with the *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* ('Holy Spirit').[2] Accordingly, there is here presented merely an occurrence in the consciousness, only symbolically. But the symbol is not so chosen as to show how the fulness of the Spirit dwelt in Jesus, but how it was imparted. The question we put is not satisfied thus, aside from the fact that, as we found, the thing here spoken of is Jesus' baptism. When, however, we consider what weight Baur puts on this account as a clear sign that the historical has passed into the unhistorical, we must from that standpoint be suspicious of the whole process to which Baur subjects the historical character of our gospel, beginning with the idea thereof. The same remark applies to the views of De Wette and Lücke. De Wette lays what Jesus possessed as the incarnate Logos to the consciousness of oneness with the Father, or to the divinely filled personality, and traces to the Spirit the holiness of the motives, feelings, thoughts, and

[1] See Hofmann, *Der Schriftbeweis*, 2d edition, Nördlingen 1859, vol. ii. 1, p. 12.

[2] Baur, *Vorlesungen über Neutestamentliche Theologie*, Leipzig 1864, p. 365 ff.

decisions of Jesus. This divine impulsion, however, must obtain from the beginning onward in the divine-human personality. From this he comes to the result that the single descent of the Spirit upon Jesus cannot betoken objective reality, but merely the subjective perception of the Holy Ghost in Jesus by the Baptist, which perception was attached to a moment of time. Thus the event becomes only a figure for the divine Spirit dwelling in Jesus. Lücke puts the case similarly.[1] The human life of Christ stood from the beginning under the impulsion and leading of the Holy Ghost. The act of baptism is a particular epoch of this continual impartation of the Spirit. His consciousness of the remaining unending fulness of the Spirit, which was essential to his public office, received thereby the necessary complete human certainty and clearness. Neander, Tholuck, Ebrard, and others, also see in this occurrence a stage in the development of the inward life of Jesus' consciousness. It was, however, an event which did not come to pass in him, but which came upon him from without. Therefore it was no excitement, but an imparting of the Spirit. In this view the event still has an importance for Jesus. But Meyer denies that, and sees in it only an appearance of the Spirit dwelling in Jesus, which had an importance only for the Baptist. This, however, would not merely, as Meyer owns, stand in contradiction to the synoptic account, especially in Matthew and Mark, but also with John's itself. Then, something like a resplendence would have had to shine forth from Jesus, and not the descent of the Spirit on him from heaven. John, it is true, tells nothing of the fact that it all had a meaning for Jesus too, but is content to show the signification it had for the Baptist. The reason for this lies in the relation which the event is here meant to have to the testimony of the Baptist. Indeed, he does not intend to tell the occurrence itself in the totality of its points.

If, then, the event be really intended as an impartation of the Spirit, and be so understood in the apostolic teaching,[2]

[1] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. pp. 440–442.

[2] See Acts x. 38: ἔχρισεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ('God anointed Him with the Holy Ghost').

and if the Spirit from the first dwells in Jesus as the principle of his personal life in communion with God, then the bestowing of the Spirit here must be thought of as for another sphere than that of the ethical life.

Kahnis has shown fully that the Holy Ghost in the Old Testament is not only the principle of life, but also of office.[1] So we can say with him: 'as principle of life, the Holy Ghost was inborn with Jesus;' as Spirit of office, he is now imparted to him. That is the anointing with the Holy Ghost, of which Peter speaks in Acts x. 38. That is the heavenly laying on of hands, which has its antitype in the pouring out of the Spirit on the disciples at Pentecost. Since these were already believers, though not yet complete in their belief, they did not need to receive the Spirit which works belief, but the Spirit which fits for service. So here. If the baptism of Jesus be the richly effectual consecration for his office,[2] and if the contents of his office be nothing else than that he testify to and present himself to the world in word and deed as the one whom he is, then the imparting of the Spirit is the imparting of the power for this. There must be a special power spoken of here, because the σάρξ ('flesh') of Jesus is the means of his self-witness. As there was need of an operation of the Spirit at the conception, to prepare and empower the σάρξ for the reception of God the Son, so there was need of a second to empower the σάρξ to become the means of the self-presentation of Christ. His human nature is in the baptism made fit to manifest in miracles and the like the δόξα ('glory') peculiar to him as the Son of God. The difference is the same that takes place in the Christian, between the child of God which he becomes by the new birth in baptism and in belief, and the servant of God, which he becomes by the charismatic endowment and the preparation for the service of God. The former is the operation of the Spirit on the personal life; the latter, on the natural power.[3]

[1] Kahnis, *Die Lehre vom heiligen Geiste*, Halle 1847, vol. i. [no more published], pp. 31 f., 33, 46.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 46.

[3] See Hofmann, *Weissagung und Erfüllung in A. u. N. Test.*, Nördlingen 1844, vol. ii. p. 83 f.; *Der Schriftbeweis*, 2d ed., Nördlingen 1857, vol. i. p. 191, vol. ii. 1 (1859), p. 166. This event is understood in a like way by Gess,

VERSES 35–40 (*English Version*, 35–39).

The *third testimony*, in vers. 35–40, is different, not in its contents, according to its wording, but in its results. We may thence rightly conclude that the design of the Baptist here was also different. Therefore, although it has seemingly alike contents, still its sense will be different from that of the two preceding testimonies. Later exegetes commonly take these verses in connection with what follows. This would make the account begin to introduce us to Jesus Himself (Baumgarten-Crusius), while the testimony would be considered entirely equivalent to that previously given. But even Lampe[1] speaks of a third testimony in the sense of greater independence than is the case with the later commentators, and carries the section to which it belongs, not to ver. 52 (as De Wette and Lücke do), but only to 43 (42). That, however, is too widely extended. What is told in vers. 41–43 (40–42) belongs closely to what follows. The emphasis rests not on the journey to Galilee (as Lampe says), but on the gathering the disciples. The result, which first shows us the peculiarity of this third testimony, is described up to ver. 40 (39). This peculiarity can be found even in the account itself. There is no reason to assume that the two disciples to whom, according to the account, this third testimony is spoken, had not heard the same thing on the preceding day (against De Wette, Lücke, and others). But if this were the case, why did the Baptist repeat it if he had not a particular design? If he had such a design, it will have realized itself in the result, and so it was an indirect call to follow after Jesus. The day before, Jesus comes to the Baptist as one who belongs to Him, as one who joins himself to and follows Him. Hence the Baptist says that He who seemed to be his disciple is his Master; and when he says so, he intends nothing but that they shall know that. On this day, on the contrary, he sees Jesus walking. De Wette arbitrarily demands that this *περιπατεῖν* be explained, like ver. 29, *ἐρχόμενον πρὸσ αὐτόν* ('coming

Lehre von der Person Christi, Basel 1856, p. 374; Godet; and Weiss, *Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff in seinen Grundzügen untersucht*, Berlin 1862, p. 268.

[1] Lampe, *Commentarius Analytico-Exegeticus tam literalis quam realis Evangelii secundum Joannem*, Amsterdam 1724, vol. i. pp. 449–462.

unto him'). It rather means the opposite. Baumgarten-Crusius has called attention to the fact that this word is in our gospel the standing designation for Jesus' life-work, and that perhaps it is used so even here. That is too much. Still it is not used without purpose. It betokens the independent position which Jesus had already assumed. He goes His own way. Now, when under the circumstances the Baptist gives a testimony to Jesus before two disciples who are with him, what else does he do than point them to Jesus, and indirectly call on them to join themselves to Jesus? Why was it indirect —that is, in the form of a mere phrase about Jesus? The reason is, that the joining themselves unto Jesus was to be a free act, and not simply an act of obedience of the disciples towards their master, whom they were accustomed to obey. It was likewise to be a result of the personal impression of Jesus, and not without a manifestation of his own will; see ver. 40 (39). Yet, though an indirect one, a demand is still contained in the Baptist's reference to Jesus. This is the progress of the third testimony. Baur deserves the credit of calling attention to it at least, though he did it in another spirit and without this proof.

Verse 36.

If the progress thus indicated by us be correct, Tholuck's and Lücke's view, that ver. 37 presupposes a long conversation of the two with the Baptist, is not only unnecessary, but also inadmissible. The short saying in ver. 36 fits best the indirect demand. But why does the Baptist put his testimony in just this phrase? Baumgarten-Crusius thinks that it was the designation of the Messiah which was most familiar to the Baptist. Why, then, is it not found again at iii. 27 ff.? If they should say that it did not fit in that connection, they will have to say that it was here put close at hand by the circumstances. It is a recalling of the testimony of the preceding day. He sums that up in this short phrase. Therefore that other point, *ὁ αἴρων κτλ.* ('he that taketh,' etc.), lies already included in *ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* ('the Lamb of God'). Hence the lamb is not merely a figurative expression for meekness, patience, and the like, as in Isa. liii., but designates Jesus as the true passover lamb, and therefore as the

means of the true redemption from the prison. The Baptist is the herald of the new time, and it is his place to announce Jesus in this way as the one bringing the new time of redemption, and therewith as his goal. Thus this served to point his disciples to Jesus, and to a believing following of Him. This following, which takes place by belief, found at the same time an external illustration in the behaviour of the disciples.

Verse 37.

They follow Jesus in silence, waiting for the moment in which they can address themselves to him.

Verse 38.

Jesus helps them by looking around, and asking them what they desired.

Verse 39.

The evangelist has kept the address in its original form: ῥαββεί ('vir amplissime,' רַב, then the name for a teacher), and then interprets it for the reader. We see that the writer had a share in it. This first word that he spoke to Jesus is full of meaning for him. They would like to know where He lodges, so that they may visit and speak to Him. Now they are in the open air.

Verse 40 (*English Version, end of verse* 39).

Jesus tells them to come with him. The evangelist does not say what they do there. We see, however, from the whole, that it was decisive. Hence he marks the hour the tenth hour—that is, in Jewish reckoning, which is to be presupposed throughout,[1] four o'clock in the afternoon. That was the decisive hour of his life, the birth-hour of his discipleship to Jesus. That is the reason he mentions it. The whole is now important to him. Obedience to the word, both of the preparation and of Him who is the fulfilment, the coming to Jesus, and the received impression of His personality,—this is what makes the disciples of the Baptist the disciples of Jesus;[2] and this, too, is the essence of belief. The evangelist

[1] See above, p. 69 f., against Ebrard.

[2] 'Primæ origines ecclesiæ christianæ.' Bengel, *Gnomon*, on i. 37; 3d ed., Tübingen 1773, vol. i. p. 379 a.

shows us, and that purposely, the whole in the least part, the general in the particular, the goal in the first point, because that goal is what is essential. This agrees with the entire method of his Gospel.

I. 41–II. 11 (*English Version*, I. 40).

The First Self-Revelation of Jesus.—The first self-revelation of Jesus, like the self-introduction of Jesus into the world, or into the inner life of the first men whom He by that self-revelation gathers about himself as the beginning of his church, attaches itself by internal necessity to the ushering testimony of the Baptist. Still on the same day (see Meyer), not on the next day, as I, with De Wette, Baur, and others, previously assumed, the two disciples go out to seek their brethren, and make known to them their blessed experience. These are also, therefore, on the spot, near the Baptist.

Verse 41 (*English Version, verse* 40).

Andrew was one of the two disciples who joined themselves to Jesus directly from the Baptist. The other is not named; it is the evangelist himself.[1]

Verse 42 (*English Version, verse* 41).

Andrew is the first to find his brother Peter. Thus they both sought, but both did not seek Simon (Bengel, Tholuck, De Wette, Hengstenberg). Each sought his brother. Τὸν ἴδιον ('his own') is not merely possessive (see Meyer, against Lücke), but means his own in distinction from strangers. As Andrew was the first to find his own brother Simon, so also John probably found his own brother James, only later. Otherwise Andrew would have been not the first, but the only one. The evangelist is silent as to his brother, as he is silent about himself. The traces of the author have always been seen in this, and rightly.[2] These are the two pairs of brothers with whom the lists of the apostles always begin, only that Simon Peter has taken the lead. This precedence of Simon is announced in what follows.

[1] See above, p. 66 f., and my *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1875, p. 181 ff.

[2] Against Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, Zürich 1867, vol. i. p. 157.

Baur has mistaken, in a singular way, the meaning of the gathering here related. His view is, that we have here simply a summing up of what the synoptic tradition reported about the call of the apostles,—the difference being, that the fourth gospel has seized in its ideal meaning what the others relate historically. But a call of an apostle is a call to testimony and to preaching. Here, on the contrary, we have to do with the reception of Jesus in belief. The disciples come into consideration not as apostles, as messengers of Jesus to the world, but as the first believers, as the beginning of the church. There is therefore all the difference between the gathering of the latter and the calling of the former, that there is between a believer and an apostle. Hence John's account, so far from excluding the synoptic story, rather demands it. It is easy to see why John did not tell of the real call of the apostles. He does not deal with that contrast between the Old and New Testament church of God which made the soul of Matthew's presentation, and so he did not need, like Matthew, to put forward the twelve apostles as the authorities set by Jesus over the new church. Nor had he the purpose Mark had of making prominent the messengers and bringers of salvation for the world; see iii. 14 f. Nor did he, like Luke, have to call attention to the fact that the message of salvation had gone forth from the concealment of the temple into the world (and the world's capital), and to introduce the apostles in connection with this thought. John occupies himself entirely with belief on Jesus the Son of God. The first disciples designate its first founding, the first place of its existence, in the world; and thence they become the men called to testify of the Son of God, so as to produce belief in him. There are therefore two different facts related by the synoptists and by John. But it is not only a momentary following that is here pointed out. The story gives the impression, and what follows confirms it, that the disciples from this time forward remained with Jesus, if not altogether, at least for a long while. Jesus probably sent them away when he withdrew into retirement, and only when he came forth as the prophet of Galilee called them to him again and chose them for his apostles. In the passage before us everything moves about the personal belief upon the Son of God. This is shown by the self-revelations

of Jesus on the one side, and by the confessions on the other side,—in which confessions we have the declaration of the impression the personality of Jesus had made.

It is not told what Jesus talked about with those two disciples. We see, however, what impression he made on them, and what result their conversation and their being together had, by the confession of Andrew. They have recognised Jesus as Christ: *εὑρήκαμεν τὸν Μεσσίαν* ('we have found the Messias'). Like one who has long sought or hoped, and at last has found what he sought, Andrew cries out: *εὑρήκαμεν* ('we have found'). What he has found he sums up in the one word: *τὸν Μεσσίαν* ('the Messiah'). The whole full heart lies in this short word. In this one they have all their knowledge. That knowledge needed but to unfold itself gradually to them in its single points and consequences. Hence we should not like to say, with Baumgarten-Crusius, that in what follows in vers. 46, 50 (45, 49) we have the enhancement of the simple belief in the Messiah spoken in ver. 42 (41). What does ver. 46 (45) contain that did not lie in the confession of the Messiah in ver. 42 (41)? And when Nathanael calls Jesus the Son of God and the King of Israel, he means only to designate Jesus as the Messiah by these words. The others, as well as he, knew from the Old Testament that the Messiah was, and was properly called, both of these.

Ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ('the Son of God') expresses the peculiarity of this man above all others; and *ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ* ('the King of Israel') expresses the peculiarity of this Israelite before all others. The former phrase says that this man is from God not merely on this or that side, but as to his essential being. The latter phrase says, that in him the history of Israel comes to its glorious fulfilment. At the same time, the full contents of what he uttered in the phrase 'Son of God,' might be hidden from him, and only discover themselves to him in the course of the self-revelation and the believing reception of Jesus, just as the essence and future of the kingdom were still unknown to him, and could only become clear in the course of the history of Jesus and of the understanding of that history. But what he later received of new knowledge was never so new as to be added to the first knowledge as something different. It was only development and

self-mediation of the contents of the first fundamental knowledge. In fact, it was at bottom nothing new when Thomas at the close confessed him as his Lord and God. Thus, then, the story of our gospel begins with the whole and the full thing.—What made the disciples and their belief, weak as it was, the right belief, was the circumstance that they did not take Jesus simply from one particular side that suited them, but were engaged by his whole personal being, and accepted him in a central way in belief and knowledge, although the belief was so scanty, and the knowledge was so undeveloped, and so unable to understand itself.

How true the last point is, can be seen from Philip's words. He names Jesus in one breath as the Messiah and as Joseph's son from Nazareth, without being aware of the contradiction that lies in this. Anything that contradicted the essential knowledge was only accidental in relation to it, and could easily be overcome. Lücke[1] thinks that we can see by this 'that the synoptic history of the childhood was not clearly known then.' It is true these men will not have known anything of what happened thirty years ago. What occasion would Mary and Joseph have had to tell anything about it? Moreover, those who knew a little about it were partly dead, partly, as far as they then still thought of it, compelled to keep it to themselves, since the thirty years had shown no result. It had become a forgotten legend. De Wette, however, is very hasty, when he concludes at once that John knows nothing of Jesus' birth in Bethlehem.

The facts by which Jesus testifies to himself as the one whom he is, are, first of all, manifestations of his uncommon knowledge, to which he joins the prediction of uncommon power. He calls Andrew's brother by name, and designates him as Cephas. By his word, he determines Philip to follow him. He salutes Nathanael as an Israelite indeed, and tells him how he saw him before. To all this he adds an announcement in relation to the time then opening.

Verse 43 (*English version*, 42).

In these first words of Jesus, it is more probable that the

[1] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. p. 452.

evangelist means that the calling by name as well as the giving the new name is an act of wonderful knowledge; but the former does not obtain recognition from exegetes. It wishes to call attention to the fact that Jesus knew him. When Andrew led him to Jesus, He at once addressed him, as we read. It is not to be supposed that the evangelist has merely laid stress on what was especially striking in a long conversation.[1] *Ἐμβλέψας αὐτῷ* ('and when Jesus beheld him') would not fit that. This word, which betokens the firm and significant direction of the gaze upon any one, is to say that the glance at Simon at once tells Jesus whom he has before him. This is not an arbitrary knowing of all things or of many things. Just as it was part of the Baptist's calling to look through those who came to be baptized of him to see whether they were sincere or not, so it was a part of Jesus' calling to perceive how those who came in contact with him stood inwardly and historically to the kingdom of God. The old name that Simon bore at home is purposely named first with solemn formality, so as to oppose to it the new name which he was to bear in the church of Jesus. This is the contrast. The one name he bears now, the other he shall bear in the future: *κληθήσῃ*, in the future. When he gave that fundamental confession of Christ the Son of God, Matt. xvi. 16, it is said: *σὺ εἶ Πέτρος* ('Thou art Peter,' ver. 18); and from that time he bore that name. This shows us how *Κηφᾶς* ('Cephas') is intended here. It does not designate the firmness of his nature (Lücke, De Wette, and Baumgarten-Crusius), but the position in his calling,—which position in the kingdom of Christ he will take up for the sake of his confession of Christ and by means thereof. In that confession the name began to be a reality: at Pentecost it has become thoroughly a fact. Thus the announcement in Matt. xvi. 18 agrees with the announcement here. Christ's word in the former is not the first giving of the name, but a confirmation of the name based on the circumstance in which it began to be real.

VERSE 44 (*English version*, 43).

On the following day, as Jesus was about to leave this

[1] Lücke, *ut supra*, vol. i. p. 448.

place to go to Galilee, his home (the sentences are put alongside of each other paratactically, instead of being constructed syntactically[1]), he found Philip. He was thus still in the same place, near the Baptist, and so still in the right position of preparation.[2] Jesus himself summons him: Follow me.

VERSE 45 (*English version*, 44).

When the evangelist adds that he was from Bethsaida, the place of Andrew and Peter, this remark is connected with the preceding. The fact that he saw these two following Jesus, helped his decision.

VERSE 46 (*English version*, 45).

On the way Philip meets Nathanael,[3] probably on the same day. Hence Nathanael, who was from Cana, was doubtless on his way to the Baptist (so also Godet, against Meyer), and therefore in a like position of preparation. The one who, in the lists of the apostles elsewhere, is called Bartholomew (son of Tholmai), is certainly identical with Nathanael (נְתַנְאֵל, Theodore). For he commonly stands with Philip. Philip announces to Nathanael with ceremonious thoroughness, according to his manner, Jesus as the Christ. That he calls him the son of Joseph of Nazareth is natural, because he does not know him as anything else. It is arbitrary to conclude from this as to the view of the evangelist (De Wette). And not less arbitrary, because utterly unnecessary, is Meyer's assumption, that the words as to the sonship of Joseph must rest on things Jesus has imparted to them. Jesus had merely had no occasion to correct this. It corrected itself in the gradual development of belief.

VERSE 47 (*English version*, 46).

The hesitation caused by Nazareth is comprehensible. It is not the smallness and unimportance of Nazareth (Lücke, De Wette, Brückner, and others) that raised his doubts; nor the suspicious moral name of this place, which Meyer infers arbitrarily from the contrast to *ἀγαθόν* ('good'). It is simply

[1] See above, p. 36 f.
[2] As to Philip's prudent manner, see above, p. 87 f.
[3] As to Nathanael, see above, p. 86 f.

that it stands in no connection with the hope of Israel, and, indeed, does not occur in the whole Old Testament (thus, too, Godet). How can anything good, in the higher sense, and much more the Messiah, come from it? 'Come and see,' reads Philip's answer,—the best one for such doubts.[1]

VERSE 48 (*English version*, 47).

Jesus recognises his heart as he comes to Him: *Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile.* And he knows his desire unto the kingdom of God.

VERSE 49 (*English version*, 48).

Before that Philip called thee, when thou wast under the fig-tree, I saw thee. Baur's[2] notion as to the difference between the words spoken to Peter and to Nathanael, does not seem to me to fit. He says that in the former the δόξα ('glory') of Jesus manifests itself in a knowledge that is still unexplained. There can be no particular difference in the fact that Jesus speaks, there a short phrase, and here a more detailed one. Rather the former is a historical, and the latter a psychological knowledge. The historical word in ver. 49 (48) only serves to confirm the one spoken in ver. 48 (47). It is plain enough what Jesus means when he salutes the coming Nathanael as an Israelite in the true sense of the word. If he is this, he is ready to become a member of the church of Christ, which is building itself up out of Israel. Jesus confirms his being this by the relative phrase; it is meant in confirmation (so Meyer too). Jesus lays stress on the guilelessness of his being, which is such that he neither lets himself be bribed by the unproved joy of others at the fulfilling of the hope of Israel, nor lets himself be kept by any considerations from uttering his doubts. Jesus wishes to emphasize the fact that he, Nathanael, is bent earnestly and sincerely on the fulfilment of the prophecy as it was given and as it read, and not as it might seem to be fulfilled to a too hasty wish. Hence it is that He calls

[1] Optimum remedium contra opiniones præconceptas ('The best remedy against preconceived opinions'), Bengel, *Gnomon*, 3d ed., Tübingen 1773, vol. i. p. 380 a.

[2] Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 113.

him an Israelite in the right understanding of the word. Jesus confirms to him the fact that He recognises him in his internal preparation for the kingdom of God by the miraculous external seeing. For he had seen him even before Philip called him—namely, as (before Philip's call) he was sitting under the fig-tree, probably before his own house. The ὑπὸ τὴν συκῆν denotes the time before the call at which Jesus says that he saw him; ver. 51 (50) confirms this (thus with Lücke, Meyer, and others, against Baumgarten-Crusius). It cannot be a chance miraculous seeing that Jesus appeals to. It must stand in connection with the psychological knowledge that Jesus here shows. Lücke is right in emphasizing as the essential and necessary thing here, the circumstance that He recognised him internally even from afar. Hence it must be more than a mere hypothesis (against Meyer) that his delaying or sitting under the fig-tree has some relation to the fact that he is a true Israelite. And so Jesus, in recognising him as a true Israelite, recognises him as one who belongs to Him. Jesus teaches hereby that he knows his own.

Verse 50 (49).

Thus it is that Nathanael recognises him as the Son of God. Such an unconditioned recognition of the true Israelites as such would not be proper to Him had he not the unconditioned authority in Israel, and were not the Israelites themselves his own. Hence, also, he is at the same time both the Son of God, not in the limited sense like those before, but in an unconditioned way, and the king of Israel. Therefore it is He in whom the future of Israel is present.[1] It is not some miracle of supernatural knowledge which is related by Jesus here, but a self-revelation of the Son of God.

We are to perceive in two ways that it is given to him to carry out this calling of the Son in Israel. First, in that he gathers by his word the church of his own out of Israel; and secondly, that the divine power stands at his command for his work. In these six disciples whom he has gained, he has gathered about him by his word the beginnings of his church.

[1] See above, p. 322.

VERSE 51 (50).

For the second point he could refer to the future of his next great revelations, in which it should appear that the powers of God stood at his command.

VERSE 52 (51).

Verily, verily, I say unto you. Thus he brings in his answer with emphasis.[1] *Hereafter ye shall see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man.* The angels are the personal powers of his Spirit working in the world, by which God, as the one within the universe, completes the thoughts of his kingdom. Hence we can say that Jesus' words in ver. 52 (51) contain an altered repetition of the imparting of the Spirit told in ver. 32. *Ὄψεσθε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεῳγότα* ('ye shall see heaven open') and *καταβαίνειν ἐπί* ('to descend upon') recall unmistakably the imparting of the Spirit at the baptism. If this be not a deception, this passage goes to confirm our explanation of ver. 32. When it speaks here of angels, we see only the Spirit of God, in the variety of its workings. Angels are not, as Lücke thought,[2] taken here as symbols of the unbroken revelation of God, in contrast to their conception elsewhere in the Scriptures as real personal beings. It is no general figure, as Baumgarten-Crusius declares. They are meant, as in general, to be the personal powers of the variously working Spirit of God. It is the same whether we say that Jesus did his miracles *ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ* ('by the Spirit of God,' Matt. xii. 28) or by the service of angels; see Luke vii. 8; Matt. xxvi. 53.[3] The ministering spirits are, moreover, in constant motion to and from God and him. His prayer, as far as it stands in the ministry of his calling, sends them up praying to God (see John xi. 42); and the Father's hearing of prayer sends them down from above to his aid. Hence we read *ἀναβαίνοντας καὶ καταβαίνοντας* ('ascending and descending'), and *ἀναβαίνοντας* stands first.

[1] See above, p. 52, and my *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1875, p. 178 f.

[2] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. p. 459.

[3] See Hofmann, *Der Schriftbeweis*, 2d ed., Nördlingen 1857, vol. i. pp. 325, 401.

The Spirit is spoken of here, as we see, not in so far as he is the foundation and the determining power of personal life and salvation. The angels have nothing to do with this according to the Scriptures. It is the Spirit, in so far as he has the power of activity, and in so far as he works. There can be no word here as to any other activity than that of his calling. Therefore Jesus speaks of the manifold power of the spirit of his calling, which has become his own. In like manner, we found above that the spirit of office was there spoken of. It proved there that the impartation of this spirit showed Jesus to be the Son of God; and the same thing holds good for this passage. Hence Jesus does not ascribe to himself some miraculous power or other; but he so designates the power which is his since the baptism, that he thereby shows himself to be the Son of God. At the same time, he is the fulfilment of Israel. It has not escaped the exegetes, that the conception of this passage intends to recall Gen. xxviii. 12. The continuous saving activity of God there pictures itself to the father of the twelve tribes of Israel for his consolation, in that nightly vision of ascending and descending angels. Such is the living communication in which God will stand with his chosen people. When, then, the disciples shall see in actuality in Jesus the likeness of what Jacob there beheld in vision in relation to himself, what else does this mean than that the history of Israel is fulfilled in Jesus?

But the history of Israel fulfils itself in him in whom the history of humanity found its determination and fulfilment. For Jesus calls himself in ver. 52 the 'Son of man.' The common explanation of this self-designation of Jesus, which is found so constantly in the synoptists, namely, that it is the Messianic name in a Daniel-like form, or with reference to Daniel's prophecy, Dan. vii. 13, is not in a position to tell us why Jesus so names himself just here. Nor do we find this point touched in the commentaries. This very weakness would argue against the familiar interpretation. Hofmann[1] has also proved sufficiently the un-

[1] Hofmann, *Weissagung und Erfüllung im Alten und Neuen Testament*, Nördlingen 1844, vol. ii. p. 19; and *Der Schriftbeweis*, 2d ed., Nördlingen 1859, vol. ii. 1, p. 78 ff.

tenableness of this explanation; and they have gradually, on different sides, owned that he was right.[1] It cannot be a designation of Christ as the Messiah, on account of the passage Matt. xvi. 13. Christ names himself with this phrase, both in view of his likeness to other men, in that he, namely, is like them a man, and in view of his distinction from them, in that he calls himself the 'Son of man.' Son of David designates him as the one in whom the history of the house of David was to find its goal; and thus 'Son of man' designates him as the goal of the history of humanity, which history began with the first man. Hence, as the second, he comes up directly to the side of the former, as he with whom the history of humanity begins afresh. He is this, however, only by being,—not exclusively a product of humanity, but as he who has from God entered into humanity and its genealogical development. Therefore he is ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ('the Son of man'), because he is ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ('the Son of God'). That is what Jesus here shows us. In him, because he is the Son of God, both the history of Israel, which bears salvation within it, and the history of humanity, which is called to salvation, find their fulfilment. Both lines meet in one point. The disciple, Nathanael the true Israelite, had recognised him as the Son of God and king of Israel. Jesus adds, that he is at the same time therewith ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ('the Son of man'), yet in such a way that we see how both his importance for Israel and for humanity are given and based on the fact that he is ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ('the Son of God'). And so in this section he reveals himself as such; and the account has no other design than to show this. But he does not reveal himself as such, without at the same time showing that double relation and meaning. From this we shall be able to understand the following paragraph, which also belongs to this circle.

[1] Weizsäcker, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1859, p. 765 f.; Baur, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1860, p. 274 ff.; Hilgenfeld, *ibid.* 1863, p. 327 ff.; Holtzmann, *ibid.* 1865, pp. 212–237, especially 225–230; Kahnis, *Die Lutherische Dogmatik historisch-genetisch dargestellt*, Leipzig 1861, vol. i. p. 446 f.

II. 1–11.

We recall, first of all, the observation which we prefixed to this circle of the self-introduction of Jesus, namely, that all self-revelation of him as the Son of God, which is reported in it, is related directly only to the disciples as the beginning of the church which was to be gathered. Therefore we are not yet standing in the sphere of Jesus' public self-revelation. We must remember this at *οὔπω ἥκει ἡ ὥρα μου* ('mine hour is not yet come'), and in judging this incident in general. In the next place, we have seen that Jesus the Son of God reveals himself as the fulfilment of Israel, as this fulfilment is given in him the Son of man. We shall find the same thought in this miracle. In consideration of what precedes, we shall expect to find the relation of Jesus to the old covenant here portrayed. Explanations, such as that the Lord's supper is hinted at (De Wette, Bruno Bauer), or that Jesus is contrasted with the Baptist (Olshausen, Baur[1]), we may declare to be without support in the preceding context. In any case, the importance of the miracle lies in the fact that it is a *σημεῖον* ('sign'). It certainly cannot be a ground of conviction for the Christian cause;[2] but it is not meant to be that. Since its value lies in the thing portrayed, in the *σημεῖον*, it presupposes belief. But it serves belief, just because it shows figuratively what is given in Jesus. Hence belief of the disciples, that is, a demand therefor, is named as the effect of this *σημεῖον*, ii. 11. Certainly, as Baumgarten-Crusius claims, the spiritual miracle is the essential thing in the life of Christ; and the sensible miracles, as they are slightingly called, are not the essential thing. But the former appears in the latter; and thence it is that the latter, as we saw above, receive their essential importance as *σημεῖα* ('signs'). We are therefore neither justified in giving up, nor forced to give up, the external historical character of this miracle. Baur, on the contrary, is right when he demands of the 'believing' exegetes

[1] Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 116 ff.

[2] Baumgarten-Crusius, *Theologische Auslegung der Johanneischen Schriften*, Jena 1843, vol. i. p. 79.

that they take the history presented here just as it stands.

Baur expresses it as his conviction, that since this account finds no point of contact in the synoptists, it is the more certainly to be comprehended only from the fundamental idea of the gospel itself. In this he assumes to himself the right to start from the principle that the three first gospels contain the complete tradition, and that what passes beyond that is unhistorical. It is a singular assumption to venture to make such a presupposition his basis, as he does in his whole work on John. When, however, he adds that the representation clearly shows that it does not mean to give a historical account, but that it follows a definite ideal purpose, we have only to say, that in the first place this is no exclusive contradiction, and that in the second place he has not proved the second clause of his declaration. He who reads this account without prejudice must confess that it reads simply and decidedly as historical, and hence is intended so. It does not therefore need to be a chance anecdote from Jesus' life. Baumgarten-Crusius'[1] notion that, as to importance and effect, it stands at the lowest point among the miracles of Jesus which are related in the fourth gospel, is as arbitrary as it is false. The connection leads us to the very contrary. This will be confirmed by the closer consideration of the matter.

VERSE 1.

The third day. The evangelist begins this account reckoning from the last mention of time in i. 44 (43), and not, as Baur will have it,[2] counting back over that, so that the day directly following i. 44 would be meant. He then argues from that, against the historical possibility. But that would contradict the evangelist's method of reckoning in what precedes; see i. 29 and 35. The evangelist counts in all, six days, at the beginning as well as at the close of the gospel, xii. 1. The Baptist's testimony to the deputies falls on the

[1] Baumgarten-Crusius, *Theologische Auslegung der Johanneischen Schriften*, Jena 1843, vol. i. p. 81.

[2] Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 114.

first day, i. 19 ff.; to those around him, on the second day, i. 29 ff.; and to the two disciples, on the third day, i. 35 ff.; on the same day both pairs of brothers join Jesus. On the fourth day, Philip and Nathanael follow Christ. The third day from that is to be so reckoned, that the beginning and end be counted in; and so it is in all the sixth day. The distance amounted to about twenty leagues, or three day's-journeys. Hence that fits with the counting. Jesus goes first to Nazareth his home. Here he learns that his mother is at a marriage in the neighbouring Cana. *Τῆσ Γαλιλαίασ* ('of Galilee') is added to distinguish it from the other Cana in the tribe of Asher, in the neighbourhood of Phœnicia. It is doubtful whether Cana is to be looked for in Kana el Djelil ('Cana in Galilee'), which lies two leagues north of Nazareth, as Robinson, Ritter, Meyer, and others say; or whether it is to be sought in the Kefr Kenna, a league off to the east of this, as Hengstenberg and Godet think. Probably there were not two at the time of Jesus. The second, perhaps, arose only after the destruction of the first. In either case, Cana was not far from Nazareth. The marriage doubtless took place among friends or relations of the parents of Jesus. Jesus is again at Cana, later, in iv. 46. Perhaps it was in the new house of these friends. Nathanael also was from Cana, xxi. 2.

Verse 2.

And both Jesus was called, and his disciples, to the marriage. *Ἐκλήθη* ('was called') is not to be taken as a pluperfect. The disciples of Jesus could not have been invited before. It is probably to be supposed that Jesus found an invitation waiting, and that they invited his disciples afterwards, out of politeness.

Verse 3.

A marriage lasted commonly seven days, Gen. xxix. 27; Judg. xiv. 14 ff.; Tob. ix. 12, x. 1. Was it so in this case? It was probably several days at least. If it were the last day, an unexpected increase of the marriage-company could the more easily cause a want of wine. This verse should hold to the common reading, *καὶ ὑστερήσαντοσ οἴνου* ('and

when they wanted wine'), which is also sufficiently supported by the manuscripts. Mary, it appears, is the first to notice the want of wine. Tender-hearted, she wishes to save the bridal hosts from embarrassment. Hence she speaks to Jesus: οἶνον οὐκ ἔχουσιν ('they have no wine').[1] In sense, though not in expression, this is an appeal, not for leaving the feast (Bengel), but for help.

Verse 4.

Jesus' answer sounds apparently severe; but it is not. On the cross he calls his mother 'woman,' and not mother. Τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί; מַה־לִּי וָלָךְ ('What have I to do with thee?' Compare Matt. viii. 29; Mark i. 24; Luke viii. 28) is a refusal of fellowship. The words are not unfriendly, but are estranging. She is to learn not to consider herself, or act towards him, as his mother.[2] From this refusal we may well infer that her thoughts went beyond a common help. Did she think of anything definite at all? Her son has come back from the baptism, accompanied by disciples. Long slumbering hopes and expectations probably awake in her soul. *Mine hour is not yet come.* 'The hour' is an expression characteristic of John.[3] On this very account we may not weaken the phrase, as Meyer does, so that it should denote the point of time for help, and so that Jesus should intend to say 'that he is going to help, but not at this moment.' 'The hour' must here be meant in the same pregnant sense which it has in John throughout. Some take it as the death-hour;[4] others, as the death-hour, or as the death and

[1] The reading in the Sinaitic, οἶνος οὐκ ἔστιν, is evidently a correction of the usual reading (also in B): οἶνον οὐκ ἔχουσιν, caused by the fact that the subject in question had not been named before.

[2] [This discussion appears scarcely fair towards Jesus and towards his mother. The words, as is remarked above, are not unfriendly. But they also are not necessarily 'estranging,' or calculated to drive the mother away. The tone in which such words were used determined their intention and effect. We cannot readily believe that Jesus, in replying to this incitement to his first miracle, which incitement he answered by his act, took occasion to bid his mother keep her place. Were it so, we should have expected him to have appointed John her son here instead of at the cross.—C. R. G.]

[3] See vii. 30, viii. 20, xii. 23, xiii. 1, xvii. 1; and above, page 131 f.

[4] Schweizer, *Das Evangelium Johannes nach seinem innern Werthe und seiner Bedeutung für das Leben Jesu kritisch untersucht*, Leipzig 1841, p. 73.

glorification hour.[1] Baur thinks it the time of the glorification.[2] 'The hour' is always the time determined by God for the revelation of his being. This, however, goes through death to glory. Here it is the time of his revelation. The right hour for his manifestation is not at this marriage and in this private house. Still he can and does give a picture and type of the revelation of his glory.

VERSE 5.

Mary certainly did not understand her son's words.[3] She probably feels the estrangement in them. But she is sure of the disposition of her son. So she hopes, not on account of, but in spite of, the answer. And Jesus did not let her hope come to shame.

VERSE 6.

Ἐκεῖ ('there'), that is, there stood in the room six portable (iv. 28) water-pots, for the cleansing of hands and vessels before and after the meal, according to Jewish custom.

VERSE 7 ff.

Jesus causes these to be filled, and then orders wine to be drawn from them and taken to the 'governor of the feast,'—*ὁ τῶν τραπεζῶν ἐπιμελητὴς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐκοσμίας* ('he who took care of the tables and the general arrangements'), who had to command the servants, care for the ordering of the feast, and to taste the food and drink beforehand. This one is surprised that such a good wine should still be in reserve, and in his way reproaches the bridegroom for keeping this good liquor so long: *When men have well drunk*, so that they can no longer distinguish so exactly the goodness of the wine. He speaks from his common experience.

[1] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. p. 470, vol. ii. p. 218.

[2] Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, p. 117.

[3] [She certainly did not understand the words in the sense explained. Had she, she could not have supposed that he would pay any attention to the words which he had answered in an intentionally cool and slightly repelling way. Still less would she have ventured to indicate by her orders to the servants that she was a confidant of his. Indeed, the order given by her would rather lead one to infer that Jesus had assured her that he intended to take some action in the case.—C. R. G.]

We must let the miracle of the changing of the water stand as it reads, and not turn it into a hastened natural process (Olshausen),—a working on the disposition of the guests, a change in the attributes in distinction from a change in the substance (Neander), or a marriage-jest of Jesus' (Paulus). 'Sit ut est, aut non sit' ('Let it be as it is, or not at all'). It is incomprehensible, like every miracle; no more and no less; but it is not therefore inconceivable. It is a σημεῖον ('sign'). Therein lies its importance and its internal confirmation. It is a revelation of Jesus as the Son of God, in contrast to what was given in the old covenant. This is confirmed by the remark of the evangelist, that the six pots were placed there according to the law of Jewish purification. That forms a contrast to what Jesus gives. Instead of the thing commanded, steps his divine gift, the higher life, into the place of that which is externally purifying. Thus are Christianity and Judaism related to each other; thus the New and the Old Testament church. We may then also certainly say that Christ, the beginning and contents of the former, and the Baptist, the conclusion of the latter, are related. He changed the water into wine, not new-created the latter; and thus the two above are so contrasted with each other, not that the one steps absolutely into the place of the other, but that the old is to be elevated and glorified into the new. He who does this is Jesus, who, at first a guest, enters by the gift into the place of the bridegroom. Baur rightly called attention to the fact that Jesus shows himself as such, by here assuming what belonged to the bridegroom. Jesus shows us in his miracle how he elevates and glorifies the essence and the church of the old covenant into the new life, by his becoming the bridegroom. He wished to show this figuratively in a miracle, because that fact is itself a miracle. In so far as the appearance of Jesus the Christ beside the Baptist began that fact, this story images the relation of the Baptist, who has as his own merely the water and the typical cleansing, and of Christ who gives the Spirit and its higher life. In so far as the glorification of the church is the end of this fact, at which Christ the bridegroom will bring home his bride the church, and will prepare the true wedding-joy, this end is also referred to. The meaning of this miracle must

be taken thus comprehensively. Baumgarten-Crusius declares that he will not object if they find in the account a reference to the changing of Judaism to a higher spirit; and he refers for this to the καθαρισμὸσ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ('purifying of the Jews,' ver. 6), and to the connection with the following story, ver. 14 ff.[1] We would gladly accept that as a confirmation of the view offered. But this cannot be called an 'allegorizing.' In the chapters on the language and representation of the gospel, we have sufficiently seen how this symbolism is deeply and essentially founded in the whole spirit of the Scriptures, because it is thus deep in the matter itself. Baumgarten-Crusius has called attention to the fact that a similar explanation of this story was the ruling one even in the ancient church. Lampe, too, finds in it 'that pleasant change of affairs which was to be expected with the coming of the Lord;'[2] although in the proof he loses himself in trifles. The account must be explained from this point of view, the portraying the New Testament χάρισ ('grace') in the stead of the Old Testament νόμοσ ('law').

This, too, explains the abundance of the wine given. *Six water-pots, containing two or three metretes apiece.*[3] The Attic metreter, which is probably meant here, is equal to the Jewish bath, and contained 1½ Roman amphoræ. Hence the single pot held about 18 or 20 gallons, and the whole amounted to from 108 to 120 gallons.[4] The simplicity of the account forbids us to doubt, with Lücke,[5] that the whole water contained became wine. It says in ver. 9, without limit, τὸ ὕδωρ οἶνον γεγεννημένον ('the water that was made wine'), and leaves us nothing else to think of than that in the writer's opinion all the water had been changed into wine. Of course it does not mean that all this wine was to be drunk at once.

[1] Baumgarten-Crusius, *Theologische Auslegung der Johanneischen Schriften*, Jena 1843, vol. i. p. 82.

[2] Lampe, *Commentarius Evangelii secundum Joannem*, Amsterdam 1724, vol. i. p. 517.

[3] ἀνά, distributively; see Winer, *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*, 7th ed., Leipzig 1867, p. 372. English edition, translated by Moulton, *A Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament*, Edinburgh 1877.

[4] Or from five to six hectolitres.

[5] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. p. 471.

There were probably not so very many guests there.[1] No one, therefore, has a right to speak of luxury and waste (De Wette), or of satisfying the passions (Bruno Bauer). Why should not the newly-married pair have kept over a rich measure as the gift of their guest, as the blessing of his stay in their midst, from which they could draw for a long time? This is the way it is with Jesus' blessed incarnation and dwelling among us, so that we may take of his fulness, grace for grace, i. 16. This account is a proof of that sentence. In that sentence of the evangelist is contained an expression of the whole blessing which the incarnate one, who has taken up his abode among us, brought to us. And in this story the whole blessing is imaged before us.

Herewith this second circle of relations, i. 19–ii. 11, reaches the same end as the introductory circle. In the opening circle it is said that Christ has entered into the world, and has dwelt among men as their fellow, so as to open here, and now, the riches of the blessings contained in him, in distinction from the Old Testament law. And the same thing historically and symbolically forms the contents of this section. This may be compared with De Wette's declaration, that a single idea to rule the whole is wanting here. Nor shall we miss any longer the instructive discourse which is wanting. As we remarked in the former section, how the δόξα ('glory') of Jesus made itself known in this πλήρωμα τῆς χάριτος ('fulness of grace'), and thus became an object of believing experience; so, too, this circle must close with the reference to Jesus' δόξα, which revealed itself in this miracle, and so became an object of belief.

VERSE 11.

Thus this miracle serves to prove that Jesus is the Son of God. Therein he made visible that salvation which he mediates, only because he is the only-begotten, the one sprung from heaven. Before him merely the ordinance of the law, graven on stone, ruled in Israel. The better thing came now for the first time, ii. 10. But he revealed it at first typically, not in its essence, because his hour was not yet come—that

[1] Lücke, *Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes*, 3d ed., Bonn 1840, vol. i. p. 471.

is, the time of his full self-revelation before the eyes of men. Hence this miracle, as a figurative anticipation of that which is future, is important only for the narrow circle in which Jesus here moves, most nearly only for the disciples. It is not said that any one of the other guests remarked it, and we cannot presuppose that they did. They doubtless knew it afterwards. This event, at first a part of the gathering and of the awakening belief in the disciples, though it does not remain unnoticed by the rest, has in itself something whereby it leads Jesus over from the first circle of his disciples into publicity. In this way it leads directly to the next circle of the public activity of Jesus. Thus we see the separate members of our book linking into each other like a chain. The history and the representation progress. To this must be added the other thought, namely, that the next event, the cleansing of the temple, forms an evident contrast to the miracle at the marriage. The relation of Jesus to Judaism makes an essential point of view for the explanation of this passage. Thus it joins closely upon what precedes, and at the same time again belongs essentially to what follows, in that it opens Jesus' entrance into and stay in Jerusalem and Judea. The parts and paragraphs of our gospel are thus closely interwoven.

END OF VOL. I.

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